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by

M. MORRIS

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M. MORRIS

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FOREWORD

THE AIM OF THIS BOOK is to give a truthful picture of the provision made for public education in Great Britain to-day. The limited space available and the plan of the contents have necessarily involved what must seem to many readers serious limitations to the scope of our work. Thus we have adopted what may be called a "quantitative" approach. Little or no reference is made to the "content" of education, to questions of curriculum, or, for example, to the problem of biased textbooks. We have had perforce to be concerned almost solely with the system itself.

CHAPTER I

HOW THE SCHOOLS GREW UP

I. ORIGINS AND GROWTH

THE SCHOOLS OF BRITAIN as they exist to-day are the product of many centuries of development. All those features which make the educational landscape so irregular, the co-existence of private and State education, of secular and religious schools, of local and central control, all these derive from the peculiar history of education in this country.

In mediæval times, education was supplied almost exclusively by the clergy. Scattered throughout the land, attached to monasteries and churches, were small educational establishments which taught reading and writing. Examples of such schools are the "song schools," in which, according to Chaucer, children learned "to seyn, to singen and to rede." These were the ancestors of our present elementary schools.

Higher up the educational ladder there were grammar schools. Education here was more advanced and the curriculum included Latin grammar and sometimes rhetoric and logic. These grammar schools were usually sponsored by a cathedral or a large church, and the teachers were clergy attached to the institution. Another type of grammar school is represented by Winchester, founded in 1382, and Eton. These were boarding schools, a kind of a secondary (or higher) school for poor scholars; and because their scholars came from all over the country they were called "public" schools. It was not long, however, before the public schools

accepted paying pupils, and lost their character as charity organisations.

Technical education in the Middle Ages was naturally of a very rudimentary character. It was provided in the system of apprenticeship and in schools maintained by merchants' or craftsmen's guilds. As the years went on many of these gild schools changed in character, becoming ordinary grammar schools. To-day they have left their mark in the names of many secondary schools, such as Merchant Taylors', Grocers', etc.

At the summit of the educational scheme were the universities. First at Oxford and Cambridge, and later at other centres in Scotland and England, young men and old gathered to study the casuistries of theology and the intricacies of Law. Here were trained the civil servants and the professional classes of medieval times.

Medieval Britain thus possessed in embryo the system of education we know to-day. The school population was, however, very limited. The mass of the people remained illiterate. Among children born of poor parents, only the most exceptional could hope to benefit by the educational opportunities provided.

From the fourteenth century onwards the development of education was strongly influenced by the growth of the middle class. The power and prosperity of this class increased with the expansion of trade. On the other hand, the Church, out of sympathy with the aspirations of the middle class, began to lose its control of education.

The effect of the social and cultural movements which accompanied the expansion of trade, the Renaissance, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Reformation in the sixteenth and the Puritan revolution in the seventeenth, was partially, therefore, to secularise education.

Many town schools, such as the Scottish burgher school, responded to a growing secular influence by

employing lay tutors. This was one of the blows struck by the middle classes against clericalism which was identified with the hated feudal order. New grammar schools for the poor were founded in great numbers during this period, but economic necessity more often than not prevented poor children from occupying the places provided for them. So that, though in general educational opportunity was expanding, the benefit of secondary education accrued mainly to the middle class. This was the case in England more than in Scotland, where the principle of rate-aid for the schools in the form of an "assessment upon the freeholders" of every parish, was established as early as 1696.

II. INDUSTRIALISM AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

It was not till the Industrial Revolution that further changes occurred in the structure of British education. The new machine economy demanded fresh and ever-increasing supplies of labour. It could, indeed, only solve its labour problem by taking into the factories and workshops the young as well as the grown-up. And so low were the wages of the parents that they reared large families to help make ends meet. The population grew rapidly; within a hundred years, from 1700 to 1800, it had doubled, and it increased throughout the nineteenth century.

A great social and educational problem was thus created, for the old machinery of education was obviously inadequate to cope with the new situation. The new masses, brutalised in the jungle of long hours and low wages, could not be left ignorant and untrained. Yet education and social improvement, on the scale required, would be very expensive. How then could the social budget of capitalism be balanced without unbalancing the profit-making system itself? A partial solution of

the problem was found in philanthropy. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw the development of the charity school and Sunday school movements, and of a network of elementary schools sponsored by various religious bodies. Of the different types of school, the Sunday school was particularly favoured, because, in addition to its other boons, it had the inestimable advantage of not interfering with the hours of labour; and throughout the nineteenth century the Sunday schools had more pupils than any other type. The "voluntary schools," as the philanthropic and religious schools were called, were largely controlled by two organisations, the British and Foreign School Society, whose schools had a Nonconformist bias, and the National Society, whose schools had an Anglican bias. Under the ægis of these societies, elementary schools were established in most parishes in England. Using a carefully sifted curriculum, often consisting only of the reading of Bible texts and religious tracts, they educated the children of the poor in regular habits of work, and extolled the beauties of "contentment under deprivation."

The social and educational problems of the new machine age were, however, so vast that the voluntary schools had great difficulty in coping with them. Social discontent was increasing, owing to economic distress, and working-class feeling was entering more revolutionary channels. In this situation, some leading statesmen, such as Lord Brougham, thought that education might help to avert a crisis. In 1816 he was instrumental in setting up a Government Commission to enquire into the "Education of the lower orders of the Metropolis." This enquiry was succeeded by others, all of which revealed glaring deficiencies in the voluntary system. These the next twenty years of educational effort partly made good. But, despite this advance, further reports

showed that in Manchester, for example, one-third, and in Liverpool a half of the children were without any schooling at all. The only sign, however, that the Government was officially conscious of these grave defects in the educational system was a meagre grant in 1833 of £20,000 to the two religious societies "for the erection of school houses for the poorer classes."

Notwithstanding the deficiencies of the voluntary schools, educationists such as Brougham professed themselves as satisfied with the system. Not so, however, were the working-class spokesmen. Already thinkers like Tom Paine had advocated generous state assistance for education. Education figured largely in all the Owenite propaganda for the co-operative social order. And among the Chartists, William Lovett worked out an educational scheme which involved the provision of schools throughout the whole country by the workers themselves. This period saw also the development of a vigorous workers' Press which rendered yeoman service on behalf of adult education. Bronterre O'Brien, the Chartist Schoolmaster, attacked, in the pages of the *Poor Man's Guardian* and the *Northern Star*, the whole system of capitalist economics, politics and education. He vigorously exposed what seemed to him the pretentious sham of the mechanics' institutes. These were adult education centres, which Brougham's "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" was setting up to teach the workers science and humility, that the wheels of industry might be better oiled. To O'Brien education was an essential weapon for the workers in the coming struggle for power; it was needed if they were to understand the theory and practice of social revolution.

After 1848, the tide of Chartism ebbed and the country entered a period of greater economic stability. Government grants to education steadily increased; but there were many who would have liked a more rapid rate of

growth. Among the upper classes there were some educationists who were moved by a genuine liberal spirit to demand wider educational opportunities. The development of technique, too, demanded that a section of the workers should be skilled; so that education was looked on with greater favour in official circles. In spite of this, Government was still slow to act. When in 1853 Lord John Russell moved in Parliament that local authorities be allowed to levy a rate for the schools, the proposal was turned down. In 1861 a Government Commission, after revealing that over 900,000 children were attending schools aided by state grants (of which over 80 per cent were Church schools), reported that a universal compulsory system was "neither attainable nor desirable." The Commission declared against rate aid because of the religious difficulties involved; Anglican parents, it claimed, would not support non-Anglican schools and so on. It was obvious that the middle-class electorate was not prepared greatly to increase expenditure on education.

After 1867, however, the workers in the towns were given the vote and the working class became a more powerful factor in politics. An alliance of organised sections of the workers with the Liberals seemed to be established, and the new voters put a Liberal Government in power. Typical of this co-operation was the radicalism of Joseph Chamberlain. In 1869 Chamberlain formed an Education League with a programme of non-sectarian, rate-aided, free, compulsory education. From the League and from other sources there flowed a constant stream of educational propaganda. Its culmination was the 1870 Education Act.

The 1870 Act declared that where the existing voluntary schools were inadequate the religious bodies were to be given six months to meet the deficiencies; where this was not done the ratepayers in the localities were to

elect a School Board with powers to levy a threepenny rate, from the proceeds of which elementary schools were to be built. In the Board schools religious teaching was to be undenominational and parents could withdraw their children from the religion lesson if they so desired; there was to be no religious test imposed on the teaching staff.

The Act is generally regarded as a compromise, but a more accurate description would call it a Church victory. For the Churches were invited to take control of the education system wherever possible, and no interference was allowed in the existing Church schools. Nor was any change made in the fabric of the private schools, which had been growing up in great numbers for the education of the children of the well-to-do.

In Scotland School Boards, on the English model, were set up in 1872. All schools except Anglican and Catholic were placed under their control. The Boards had an easier task than in England, since elementary and secondary schools had been in existence in most of the big towns for nearly a century. The powers of the Boards were more extensive in Scotland, since they could enforce attendance to the age of thirteen, and higher education was shortly after included within their scope.

After 1870 Board schools were built in many towns where the Churches could not cope with the problem, but in the countryside the voluntary schools were able to hold their own and even extend their influence. By 1876 provision had been made for an additional one and a half million elementary school places, and of these the Churches supplied two-thirds. It was no wonder, then, that John Bright could say that the Act had "the effect of fastening the old system on them."

In many respects, however, great improvements were recorded. The School Boards had power to draft attendance bye-laws which fixed an entrance and leaving age;

nearly three-quarters of the child population in 1880 were subject to such bye-laws. In the same year Mundella's Act made elementary education compulsory by giving the School Boards powers to enforce attendance; in 1891 the application of this provision was facilitated by the abolition of all fees. Four years later the compulsory schooling period was defined as being from five to eleven, though partial exemptions were allowed below the leaving age; by 1900 School Boards had powers to raise the leaving age to fourteen in England and Wales, while in 1908, fourteen became the compulsory leaving age in Scotland; in both cases, however, exemptions below the leaving age were permitted.

III. INDUSTRIALISM AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Meanwhile, how had higher education developed since the Industrial Revolution? The middle class, like the working class, had increased vastly in numbers. The growth of the administrative apparatus of the State and the wide extension of commerce created a need for a more advanced type of schooling. As a result, the number of public, grammar and secondary schools increased. Many of these schools, for which fees had normally to be paid, provided opportunities, however limited, for poor children. This was especially true in Scotland where, theoretically, at any rate, secondary education was widespread; theoretically, because working-class parents were often too poor to be able to allow their children to take advantage of the facilities provided. In London and Manchester the School Boards were developing a new type of central school which included in its curriculum science and other advanced subjects, thus introducing higher education within the framework of the elementary school. But even this small measure of advanced schooling was the object of

reactionary attack. In 1900 the Courts (in the Cockerton decision) decided against the London School Board, which was defending its right to teach advanced subjects. The School Boards, declared the Court, were legally empowered to provide elementary education only. The Cockerton decision thus posed in acute form the whole question of secondary education, and it was obvious that the question must be answered by nullifying the decision through new legislation. For the Britain of 1900, with its experience of militant "new unionism" and of a rapidly growing socialist movement, and with the newly founded Labour Party a potential force in the State, could not allow to rest a decision which might seriously affect working-class opportunities for higher education. It was clear that new legislation must be passed which would take into full account the problem of higher education. This was the background of the 1902 Education Act, which permitted County and County Borough Authorities to provide higher education. The main consequence of the 1902 Act was the beginning of the growth of our present system of secondary and technical schools. Within a few years these schools became marked features on the educational landscape.

The needs of technical education had altered radically during the Industrial Revolution, and were changing throughout the nineteenth century. The Great Exhibition of 1851 revealed many of the deficiencies of British training as compared with foreign, and in 1853 the Government set up the Science and Art Department, whose purpose was actively to foster by expert advice and financial aid the spread of scientific and technical knowledge. Progress, however, was slow and the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 gave power to County and certain other authorities to levy a 1*d.* rate for the supply of technical and manual instruction. This was

supplemented, in 1890, by the diversion of "Whiskey Money" (excise duty) towards developing technical education. At the same time a whole network of evening and continuation classes was satisfying, in some measure, the thirst for knowledge and the desire for self-improvement among large sections of the workers whose school education had been deficient. There were over 270,000 students in evening classes in England in 1895.

Universities now existed in most large industrial towns. The main emphasis of their curricula had shifted from theology and the classics to science and the arts, though the older universities remained, to some extent, bulwarks of the older studies. Women were now admitted into the newer universities on equal terms with men, but it was not till the 1920's that Oxford and Cambridge at last regularised the position of their women students. But though, especially in the newer universities, opportunity was widening, the doors were not wide enough to admit many working-class students. Fees were high and scholarships few.

IV. THE WAR AND AFTER

In 1918 the span of English education was increased potentially and actually by the Fisher Act, which empowered the Local Authorities to establish nursery schools and classes, abolished all exemptions below the leaving age of fourteen, and actually made provision for a system of part-time compulsory day-continuation schools for school-leavers up to the age of eighteen. In Scotland fifteen was actually legislated as the school-leaving age, and secondary education made free. The Fisher Act, born in the last months of the War, was the Government's promise of the brave new world which the parents at the front were winning for the children back home. It may, however, be called the "Act of

Great but Unredeemed Promise." "Day Continuation" remained an empty phrase on the Statute Book, since no day was appointed for the operation of the proposals; the leaving age remained at fourteen in England. In Scotland exemptions were still permitted; and no action was taken under the legislation which had extended the school age to fifteen. Nursery education was discreetly left to be justified by the experiments of private people. The supposed need for economy had destroyed what might have become a milestone in world educational advance.

So, after the War, the system of schools we know so well to-day was fully fledged.

In the twenty years since 1918 there has been little basic change. Let us glance at the main outlines of this system. There is the mass of public elementary schools based on an exiguous foundation of nursery education. The elementary schools, educating over 5 million children in England and Wales are partly denominational, partly undenominational. Of the 21,000 school buildings aided by the rates and taxes just over one-half are provided to-day by religious bodies; but they cater for less than one-third of the elementary school population. The other two-thirds are all educated in schools provided and maintained by the Local Authorities, with Government aid. There are, however, 300,000 children to be found in 10,000 private schools—schools for the well-to-do and middle classes. In Scotland the private-school population is almost insignificant, amounting to less than 2 per cent of the total.

The 5 million children who go to the public elementary school are educated in its various departments—infant, junior and senior; the departments may be housed together or separately. The average child will leave a senior department or class when it is fourteen.

Over half a million children, however, attend the

1,500 secondary and technical schools in Great Britain, which are aided and maintained by public funds—a large number if we consider the difficult beginnings of secondary education in this country, but a small one if compared to the mass of children who do not derive the advantages of a secondary-school education. Apart from these, there are the 150,000 children who go to public schools and private secondary schools. The secondary pupil can stay at school till he is eighteen, though the bulk leave at the age of sixteen.

From the secondary schools a small number of pupils pass on to the university, the large percentage of entrants from the public schools being totally out of proportion when compared with the number of entrants from the grant-aided secondary schools. For the ex-elementary school pupil there is a substitute for the university in the network of evening classes and technical colleges, and the system of adult education.

This is the picture of the British schools: a picture which is clearly marked by class distinctions, which in turn reflect a schism in the society of which the schools are part. A closer examination of the schools, in the pages that follow, will, we believe, confirm this initial historical analysis.

CHAPTER II

HOW EDUCATION IS ORGANISED

I. THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES

EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN is under a dual control. It is governed by Local Education Authorities and by the Board of Education. How did this arrangement develop? From their foundation, many people thought the School Boards an unsuitable form of organisation. It was, indeed, anomalous that they should be administering large sums of money independently of and uncontrolled by the Local Authorities. A different line of opposition was that of the Churches. They could not compete with the School Boards on level terms without incurring rapidly mounting costs. The voluntary associations therefore pressed for a limit on the expenditure and the powers of the School Boards: alternatively, they demanded that the rates must come to their aid also.

In 1902 an Education Act was passed which tackled the whole problem of organisation. The Act abolished the School Boards in England and Wales, and transferred their powers to specified Local Authorities. These authorities had to appoint Education Committees, consisting of a majority of elected councillors, with powers of co-option. The Education Committees were known as the Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.). There are two types of L.E.A., named Part II and Part III Authorities, by reason of their place in the Act which created them. Municipal boroughs with over 10,000

population and urban or rural districts with over 20,000 population are eligible to become Part III Authorities; such authorities must provide elementary education, but may not provide other forms of education. Part II Authorities are County Councils and County Borough Councils. These have powers to provide (within their boundaries) secondary and other forms of higher education, and must provide elementary education; except where a Part III Authority exists.¹

The 1902 Act had other important provisions, concerned with religion. The agitation of the Churches met with a large measure of success. The L.E.As. were compelled to aid from the rates the voluntary schools, in return for control by the L.E.As. of the non-religious activities of the schools. The Churches, however, had still to provide the school buildings; hence the name "non-provided school" for a school of which the building is not provided by the L.E.A.

The organisation of education by the L.E.As. has remained to this day within the framework of the 1902 Act. Details, however, have been altered and additions made. Since 1902, L.E.As. have been obliged to develop a school medical service, to determine the age below which children's part-time employment is illegal, and the hours and occupations in which children may be employed; they have been empowered to supply nursery schools and raise the leaving age by bye-law, to establish day continuation schools, and to provide meals for necessitous children. These and other educational provisions were codified in the 1921 Education Act and in other subsequent legislation.

In Scotland, the School Boards were not abolished till 1918. In that year an Act was passed providing for the election of separate Local Education Authorities in

¹ It should be noted that not all municipal boroughs or urban and rural districts of the requisite size are Part III Authorities.

the five principal burghs and the counties, parallel to the ordinary elected councils. All schools, elementary and higher, School Board or voluntary, had to come within control of the new L.E.As. by 1920 if they were to be eligible for public financial aid. In 1929, the separate L.E.As. were replaced by Education Committees of the councils on the English model.

II. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Since the first Government grants were given for education, Education Departments for administering the grants existed in some form or another. In 1900 these were unified by the establishment of the Board of Education, which was charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales. The Scottish Education Department, a committee of the Privy Council, was set up in 1872. Its chief is the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The Board of Education is in theory a committee of the Cabinet, but it never actually meets. Its powers are, in practice, vested in the President, who is in effect the Minister for Education, and in the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board, who is in effect the Under-Secretary to the President. As the instrument of Government policy in education the Board administers and distributes the education grants made by Parliament and supervises their allocation by the L.E.As. To perform this function, there exists the service of His Majesty's Inspectors, who regularly visit schools and make reports on their conduct and efficiency. Educational policy is defined and progress controlled by the issue of periodic circulars on all the various aspects of school work and organisation. To the principles of these circulars the L.E.As. are expected to adhere, though they are usually expressed in the form of suggestions.

There is also a constant interchange of opinion on educational matters between the Board and the L.E.As. It is claimed that their relations, on the whole, amount to harmonious co-operation.

But the strongest link that binds them is finance.

III. HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

All schools aided from public funds derive their support from the L.E.As. (rates) and from the central Government (taxes). The system of percentage grants provides the basis of the financial co-operation between the Government and the L.E.As. In the field of higher education, (that is, secondary, technical and continued education, adult education, teachers' training, grants to students, etc.), the State and the Local Authorities each pay 50 per cent of the net cost—that is, the cost after income from fees, etc., has been deducted. For elementary education, the State until 1931 paid 60 per cent of the cost of teachers' salaries, which is the largest item by far in the education budget. The Government, however, so regulated its grants that it paid at least 50 per cent of the total expenditure of the L.E.A. From 1931, the basis of the grant was altered, to the disadvantage of the L.E.A.; the State now pays 50 per cent of the cost of teachers' salaries, school medical service, etc., and 20 per cent of other items, including administration and loan charges; to this is added a grant of 45s. per pupil; reduced by a sum equal to the yield of a 7d. rate. And the regulation requiring a minimum grant of 50 per cent has been abolished.

In Scotland, the grant from the central Government is based on a complicated formula, which is similar in effect to the English one.

The 1931 changes have meant a considerable reduction in the grant to the Local Authorities. They have put

further burdens on the shoulders of the already hard-pressed ratepayer, in consequence of the British rating system. Since 1931, for example, the London County Council has had to pay £6,500,000 more than it would have had to pay before the changes were made; this is a sum equal to the product of a 5*d.* rate. In Blackburn the decreased grant has meant that the ratepayer must provide a sum equal to the product of a 7*d.* rate. Figures given in Parliament sum up the situation by showing that in the decade between 1925 and 1935 the share of the L.E.As. in elementary educational expenditure has gone up by 6·5 per cent, while in the comparatively small sphere of higher education it has gone down by only 1·4 per cent.

Poor areas have suffered considerably, since the grant system takes no account of high or low rateable values in the localities, but makes a standard grant. Nor is any allowance made for the fact that in a poor area there will normally be a high birth rate and all children will go to the public elementary school, so increasing public expenditure; while in a richer area, not only will the birth rate be lower, but many children will go to private schools, so reducing public expenditure. For example, the child population of Jarrow in 1934 was 207 per 1,000 adults, while in Hove it was only 61. Yet Jarrow and Hove receive from the Government similar percentages of their total budget, despite their enormously different obligations in education, and their contrasting economic position.¹

The following figures give the education rate per pound in six representative areas in 1936; it will be seen how differently industrial and residential areas are hit:

¹ The meagre grants given under the Special Areas Grants scheme have scarcely altered the position.

CHAPTER III

TWO TO ELEVEN

I. NURSERY EDUCATION

A GOOD SYSTEM of nursery education (that is, education between the ages of two and five) would be the healthiest foundation on which to build any school system. "The child of two to four years of age," wrote Sir George Newman, when Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, "is the seed plot of future fruit, a soil not only worth careful and wise tilling, but one which we can only continue to neglect at our peril. For it lies at the beginning of the applied science of all education of youth." It would seem that the Board of Education understands the urgency of developing nursery schools. So eloquent, indeed, are the tributes paid to the nursery school, that one might expect to read of England's green and pleasant land flourishing with spacious, sunny buildings, busy hives of infant activity. But assertion and action are often separated by the gulf of oblivion. There are to-day in England and Wales only ninety-two recognised nursery schools, accommodating about 7,000 children, an insignificant percentage of the total number of infants in the age group two to five (estimated at about 2 million) or even of the 200,000 infants who live in slum conditions. But the Government desires us to believe in its goodwill. "Our object," the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board has declared, "is to obtain for all under five, whose home conditions are unsatisfactory, light and airy rooms, special playground space, playing material and the

happy environment which they need for normal mental and physical growth." This is a limitation of the aim of nursery schools from benefiting all to benefiting only a part of our infant population; and the Board of Education has limited their aim even further by declaring them to be necessary only for debilitated children. Yet with the problem thus simplified, the Government is still a long way from achieving its object. In 1937, we are told, thirty-seven nursery schools "have been approved in principle" and ten are under consideration. In Scotland there are twenty-five nursery schools with a total enrolment of 947; and of the twenty-five, twenty-one are run by voluntary organisations. It seems, therefore, that in the next two or three years, if the present rate of progress continues, the nursery school population may have risen to about 12,000!

This, up to date, is the entire fruit of Circular 1444, the Government's programme for educational advance, which invites Local Authorities to submit proposals to extend the nursery education service. The reason why results are so meagre is to be found partly in the terms of the invitation, to which educationists must take serious exception. For the Circular expresses a preference for nursery *classes* for babies in the infant schools, and desires that nursery *schools* be established only in exceptional circumstances. The Board of Education wishes to take advantage of the decline in school population, which leaves many classrooms empty, not to reduce the number of pupils per class, but to adapt some of the rooms left empty for nursery classes. It is interesting to note an apparent conflict within official circles in this matter, for the Scottish Education Department clearly evinces a preference for nursery schools and regards nursery classes with comparative disfavour.

Now, many nursery classes serve an excellent purpose. They are not, however, as beneficial as nursery schools.

The nursery school is a self-contained institution which can adapt itself to local conditions and needs; it admits children at two years; it has no midday break and thus avoids the risk of wet feet twice in one day in bad weather, plus the fatigue of the double journey; medical inspection is frequent and thorough, and suitable meals are provided. The nursery class, however, is part of the elementary school building and is governed by the elementary school regulations as regards hours, midday breaks, meals and, above all, age of admission, which is three years; so that it cannot be conducted wholeheartedly in the sole interests of the babies. It is generally recognised that the additional year from two to three yields important educational results, and it is no wonder that the Nursery School Association has expressed its apprehension lest the immense possibilities of the nursery school should be jettisoned as a result of a widespread adoption of the inferior alternative of the nursery class. This danger, too, is the more real because no standard of equipment is laid down such as would prevent the appearance of many makeshift classes now being established. It has, indeed, been admitted by the ex-President of the Board of Education that there are 150,000 under-fives "in the entirely unsuitable conditions of the public elementary schools." Since the total number of children under five in the public elementary schools is only about 160,000, the number of efficient nursery classes must, therefore, be very small.

What is a practical policy for nursery education? It seems that there are four possible alternatives. The best policy would be to rebuild the infant schools in the form of nursery-infant schools, for the age group two to seven, with separate nursery wings for the under-fives. This would involve a big programme of building. But it would provide the finest possible foundation for our

education system. As an immediate plan, however, it would be wise to advocate: the establishment of nursery schools, wherever possible; or the addition of nursery wings to existing infant schools; or nursery classes based on adequate standards of equipment and staffing.

II. THE INFANTS' AND JUNIOR SCHOOLS

All children from the age of five are compelled to attend the public elementary school or some alternative educational course. The children of the well-to-do normally go to private schools with high fees, schools which, in certain cases, may be inspected by His Majesty's Inspectors, but which receive no public financial assistance. The vast majority of the nation's children, however, go to the public elementary schools, where they begin in the infants' school or department and proceed through the junior school or department till they are eleven or twelve years old. During the six years' course the children receive a grounding in English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Drawing, Music and Physical Training.

From 1926, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Hadow, produced a series of reports on the reorganisation of the English education system. The essence of the new schemes was the separation of different age groups into different departments with their own head-teachers, and the drawing of a definite line of demarcation at the age of eleven plus between primary (that is infant and junior) and post-primary (that is senior) education. Thus after attending a nursery school or class, children from the ages of five to seven would be grouped in infants' departments or schools and from seven to eleven plus in junior departments or schools. After eleven there would be various forms of post-primary education.

In the last few years the official educational policy has been to "reorganise" on Hadow lines. How successfully has this been done?

On the plea of concentrating age groups, departments and schools have been amalgamated, merged or closed, often with disastrous results to efficiency and great inconvenience to the children, if with financial benefit to the Authorities and the Government. Reorganisation, indeed, has been so shoddy as often to merit the description "disorganisation." The full story has never been told; it is being made known in the endless complaints that pour forth at teachers' conferences and meetings.

In figures, only 46 per cent of the age group eight to eleven, have been reorganised in separate junior departments. The number of infants' departments, however, is falling instead of rising, and, though official theory still proclaims Hadowism, official practice seems to be slowing down infant reorganisation, by combining infants' with junior departments. This is cheaper than creating separate departments: but the practice has nothing but economy to recommend it.

The general progress of efficient reorganisation has indeed been held up by economy to such an extent that the Board is now feeling it necessary to press for its active prosecution by the L.E.As. Recent figures revealed that sixty-three County Authorities have only 58 per cent of all their departments reorganised, seventy-nine have between 25 per cent and 50 per cent, and twenty have less than 25 per cent. It is clear that much still remains to be done.

III. MATERIALS AND BOOKS

The primary desire for economy, which has held up reorganisation has also deprived the schools of many essential needs. Teachers constantly complain of the

inadequate requisitions of materials and textbooks. The actual cost of books per pupil in 1937 was 7*d.* in the infants' and 1*s.* 9*d.* in the junior schools, sums obviously insufficient to do justice to the child, with all the advances modern pedagogy has made. More money must be spent on practical work, on arts and crafts, so that every child may follow his bent without economic hindrance.

It might be useful, before leaving the junior school, to say a few words about one aspect of the educational system which is most clearly displayed here. That is the question of biased textbooks. It is from the story books for the younger child, used in school or borrowed from the library, that a great deal of capitalist and imperialist atmosphere is absorbed. There is the more blatant bias, which is exemplified in the unsympathetic treatment of working-class heroes, such as Wat Tyler, which calls every worker's crowd a "mob," or which simply omits the working-class side of history in whole or part. But far more subtle is the reading matter which assumes, as a matter of course, the natural right to possess Empire over other peoples and which makes war seem heroic and inevitable. School books, however, are much better to-day than they used to be. And the teaching profession, to its credit and honour, have steadily refused to be stampeded into the view that a fair presentation of history, and a rational outlook on our civilisation are "socialist propaganda." Much, however, still remains to be done by way of rewriting school literature to bring it into line with modern educational ideas.

CHAPTER IV

ADOLESCENCE

I. THE SENIOR SCHOOLS

AT PRESENT a break occurs in the child's education at the age of eleven plus in England and Wales, and twelve plus in Scotland. On reaching the age of eleven, the public elementary school pupil in England and Wales will normally sit for an examination, according to the results of which he will proceed either to a secondary school, to a central or senior school, or will remain in the same building in a senior class or department. At the age of thirteen, pupils who have not gone to secondary schools may sit for another examination, the successful candidates in which are accepted in the Junior Technical School. In Scotland often without any examination, the pupil, at the age of twelve, will go either to a secondary school or to a post-primary department (or "advanced division") of an elementary school (or, "primary school" as it is officially called). There are few junior technical schools in Scotland; technical education is usually given either in post-primary and secondary schools, or in continuation classes, i.e. evening classes.

The Hadow Report of 1926 on the Education of the Adolescent examined this system, pointed out its deficiencies and made recommendation for its reorganisation. It proposed a unified system of post-primary education. The stage of education after the age of eleven should, it claimed, "be regarded as a single whole within which there will be a variety of types of education, but which will be generally controlled by the common aim of providing for the needs of children who are entering and

passing through the stage of adolescence." Thus all children were to pass on, after eleven, to the type of secondary education most suited to their abilities, with approximately the same standard of staffing and equipment as exists in the present secondary schools, and with a minimum leaving age of fifteen. Hadow envisaged various types of secondary schools; a grammar school with a more academic type of curriculum, like the present secondary school; "modern" and senior schools with a more practical bias to the curriculum; and a wide extension of the junior technical schools. Between the types of school, mobility would be encouraged so that a mistake in estimating a child's aptitude could easily and early be rectified by transference. In short, the artificial barriers that separated the existing elementary, secondary and technical systems were to be destroyed and a unified system created.

But the same attitude to reorganisation already noticed in primary is noticeable, too, in post-primary education. The idea of a universal secondary system with parity of conditions has been relegated to the limbo of disused plans, and a great deal of attention paid to reorganising public elementary school children over eleven in senior departments and schools. But even this enfeebled and attenuated drama of reorganisation has been played like *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark; for the core of Hadowism, the leaving age of fifteen, had until recently no part in it. Nor, as will be seen, has there been any wide extension of the existing secondary and technical schools.

Of all the children over the age of eleven in the public elementary schools over 39 per cent are in senior classes; while only 61 per cent of children over eleven are now in reorganised separate senior departments or schools. These classes and departments are governed under the elementary school regulations, and in each case the standard of staffing and equipment is normally that of

the elementary school and not the secondary school. Some indication of what this means will be gathered from the fact that the cost per pupil in the grammar schools is twice, and the capital costs three times those of the senior school. The education supplied in the senior school, too, is often merely an extended form of elementary education and not a complete post-primary scheme; sometimes it is an imitation of the secondary-school curriculum, under vastly inferior conditions. Tribute must be paid to the splendid work, in these circumstances, of some of the modern senior schools, where the staff have truly tried to apply Hadowism without its pre-requisites. The idea, however, that the senior school is more "democratic," more a "people's school," and so should be extended, is a dangerous one, so long as senior schools are inferior in conditions to secondary schools. For this is only propaganda to cover up the real aim of the present senior schools—economy in post-primary education, to the disadvantage of the workers' children.

II. THE SCHOOL LEAVING AGE

It was ostensibly to meet the charge of the failure of reorganisation that the Education Act (1936) to raise the leaving age to fifteen was passed by Parliament. That Act has met with what is probably more universal condemnation than any other legislative effort in the last decade. Its chief vices are two: on the one hand, the Act grants exemptions for "beneficial employment" and for home duties, and, on the other hand, it does not provide for maintenance allowances.

The 1918 Education Act was a landmark in the history of education because for the first time no exemptions were granted below the leaving age. It was recognised that if a leaving age was fixed on educational

grounds, there could be no educational reason for granting exemptions from its observance. Yet eighteen years later this principle is flouted by the 1936 Education Act.

The excuses for exemptions will not hold water. The only suitable employment for a young boy or girl of fourteen in our present civilisation is the development of his capacities under wise and careful guidance at school. The term "beneficial," at all events, is worthless from the point of view of definition. In Lancashire, who would dare deny that the cotton industry is a beneficial occupation, or in South Wales the mines? And much the same applies to every industrial area. It is certain that in practice the exemptions clause will mean that the majority of children who can find jobs will not go to school, and that many of the others will be exempted because of "home duties." The latter provision will injure especially girls in working-class households, which contain the majority of girls likely to be affected. As the Chairman of the Devonshire Education Committee pointed out, the best children would tend to go at fourteen because these would get jobs early; the children of the poorest parents would tend to go because they needed any job, and the schools would have a small residue of children, most of whom would be marking time. The fairest comment is the experience of those areas where the leaving age has already been raised (with exemptions) by bye-law. Here are the facts; they speak for themselves:

<i>Area</i>					<i>Exemptions per cent</i>
Bath .. .. .	..	..	..	..	80
Cornwall .. ..	..	..	..	..	90
Plymouth .. ..	..	..	..	..	79
Chesterfield ..	..	..	..	..	92
Carnarvon .. ..	..	..	..	..	37 ¹
Gloucester .. ..	..	..	..	..	90

¹ Maintenance allowances are granted by this authority.

Dr. Stead, Education Officer of Chesterfield, estimated that raising the age with exemptions has lengthened the school life in his area by an average of three months only. The Government estimates a six months' increase, but adduces no proof for its view.

From the purely educational point of view, the Act is worse than useless, for it simply serves to add confusion to the present senior school curriculum. No complete scheme of secondary education can be built on such shifting sands as the mobile school population of the year fourteen to fifteen must, under the Act, inevitably be. What will result will be a few months' extra elementary education, haphazard and purposeless; an extra period of marking time "till I get a job." The Act is one more chapter in the already shameful travesty of the Hadow Report.

The local authorities have almost unanimously protested against the Act. The Government, refusing to define "beneficial employment," has left that unpopular task to the L.E.As., after merely laying down rules of procedure which themselves show how difficult it will be to implement the Act. The task of granting a certificate to one lad and refusing it to his friend for what may seem hairsplitting and elaborate reasons; the coming and going of boys from job to school and then to job again; the supervision of places of employment to see that they remain "beneficial"—these are just a few of the well-nigh insurmountable obstacles to be overcome if the child is to be given anything like a fair deal.

A compulsory raising of the age is, of course, impossible without the granting of maintenance allowances. In present-day conditions the few shillings that can be earned by the juvenile worker are an important part of the working-class family budget, and most parents cannot afford to forgo it. In Carnarvonshire, for instance, where maintenance allowances are granted, exemptions are

only 37 per cent, while in other areas, where allowances are not paid, they rise to over 90 per cent. It is the allowance which largely accounts for the difference.

Why does the Government refuse to grant the allowances, and so transform the shadow into substance? Its election manifesto explained that children should not get allowances, because they are not forced to stay at school if they can find work! As if this were not sufficiently to beg the question, the statement added that "there is no justification for maintenance allowances in lieu of non-existing wages, or of wages for employment that is not good for the child." It is in this mercenary, non-educational spirit that the Government approaches the question of educational advance.

When the President of the Board in 1936 declared that maintenance allowances are "most illogical, unjust and anomalous," it is easy to see whose opinions he was expressing. The Education Act is the voice of the employers of juvenile labour. The Government have a very good economic reason for their proposals, if they have no educational one. This reason is the desire to maintain the supply of cheap juvenile labour. If the leaving age of fifteen was made universal and compulsory, there would be an appreciable cut in the supply. But, more important even than this, it would be the thin end of the wedge; for fifteen is but the stepping-stone to sixteen, and then to part-time education up to eighteen. What other reason can the Act have than the desire to perpetuate cheap labour? Of the total number of persons employed in 1935, one-eighth, according to the Ministry of Labour, were under the age of eighteen.

In the country there were, according to recent figures, nearly a million employed juveniles of fourteen to sixteen. Yet there are over 1,000,000 unemployed! It is a social crime that these youngsters are allowed to displace adults, to lower the wage rates of their parents,

with the result that, by the turn of the vicious circle, they are, in the end, forced themselves to work in conditions largely of their own innocent making. The tragedy of the situation is that juveniles in employment to-day are engaged largely in trivial or menial occupations getting no real education, either technical or liberal, such as they would receive under a broad curriculum in school. Over a quarter of a million are employed in the distributive trades, and are generally dismissed at sixteen; while girls are often dismissed and replaced after a few months.

What would be the cost of arresting this calamity? A flat rate allowance of 5s. a week would go a long way towards easing the situation, though it is by no means sufficient. It is estimated that the cost of allowances for the 411,000 pupils who will leave school on March 31st, 1939, would be £5,348,200; and, owing to the progressive decline in the number of leavers, the cost would decrease. Of course, not every leaver would require an allowance, eligibility for which should depend on a generous income test. There are actually already fifty-three local authorities which provide some form of maintenance allowances¹ to pupils over fourteen in their elementary schools; and if it is normal that a boy of fourteen or fifteen in a secondary school should receive a grant, why should his companion in the senior school be considered unworthy of it?

Is it too late to amend the Act to make it really serve a useful purpose? Opinions are divided on this question. Some hold that, now the Act is law, effort should concentrate on so hedging "beneficial employment" with restrictions as to reduce to insignificance the number of exemptions. Demand, they claim, a forty-hour

¹ These allowances will, after the commencement of the operation of the Education Act in September, 1939, be payable only in respect of pupils over the age of fifteen.

week inclusive of travelling and meal-times, and one and a half days' schooling, for children between fourteen and fifteen; see that the job does not lead up a blind alley! There is much to be said for this attitude, but it should be pointed out that if the child is not exempted, he will be at school *without* a maintenance allowance. It seems to be necessary, therefore, not to drop the agitation for allowances while ensuring the beneficial exploitation of the Act. Only in this way can we keep in sight our real aim, the compulsory attendance at school, to the age of fifteen, of *all* children.

III. THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

As we have already seen, there are two main types of secondary school. On the one hand there are schools which do not receive aid from either the State or Local Authorities. Some of these are altogether in private hands; others are organised by semi-public bodies. Examples of this type are the public schools. On the other hand are the schools aided by rates and taxes. These may either receive a grant from the L.E.A., in return for some public control, or be built and maintained entirely by the L.E.A. The former will, in many instances, have been founded in the same way as public schools, and will have an income from endowments. These "maintained" and "aided" schools are known as "grant-aided schools," as distinct from those which receive no grants from the rates and taxes. The grant-aided schools form, to-day, a majority of our secondary schools and account for over three-quarters of the secondary school population.

Entrance to the public schools is to-day normally by means of the Common Entrance Examination which is usually taken at the age of thirteen. Children of well-to-do parents are prepared for this examination in

"preparatory" schools. Scholarships exist which provide free tuition at the public schools, but, since they can only be gained by pupils in the preparatory schools, which charge high fees, the working-class child is unable to compete for them.

There are various means of entering the grant-aided schools, all of which charge fees. All grant-aided schools conduct an entrance examination on the results of which a certain number of the candidates are awarded "special places." The parents of the "special place" winner are subjected to a means test, on the outcome of which it is decided whether the pupil shall be charged full or part fees or be admitted free. In some cases a maintenance grant is awarded in addition to a free place. Those places available in the school which are not filled by special place holders are filled by full fee payers. These are admitted sometimes on the results of an entrance examination, sometimes after an interview with the headmaster or by other methods of selection.

The grant-aided school is in practice the only secondary school that the ex-pupil of the public elementary school can attend. And his admission will more often than not depend on whether he can win a special place, the number of which varies from L.E.A. to L.E.A. and which may represent from 25 per cent to 100 per cent of the places available.

In order to gain special places, junior schools concentrate their eldest age group on intense examination study. So much so, indeed, that it has become an evil, and there is public concern with the homework problem in the junior school. The last years of the child in this school are darkened by the shadow of the oncoming examination. Often he is made to feel that his whole future depends on it.

The reason for this is to be found in the socially superior status of the secondary school, and the few

places available. The secondary school is the main avenue leading, on the one hand, to the university and so to one of the better-paid professions, and, on the other, to "black-coated" status in an office. Normally, it gives a mainly "liberal" or academic education, designed to train future clerical and administrative workers, junior staff in commerce and industry and university students. The curriculum is usually made up of English, History, Geography, Languages, Mathematics and Science, subjects which form the staple of the entrance examination to the university, the Matriculation, which the pupil may sit at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

What chance has the public elementary schoolchild of admission to the secondary school?

Of every 100 pupils aged ten in public elementary schools in England and Wales in 1936, only 13.7 were admitted to grant-aided secondary schools in 1937. There were about 466,000 children in these schools or 11.3 per 1,000 of the population. Yet the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education in 1920 recommended that there should be twenty secondary school places per 1,000 of the population.

Closely allied to the question of admissions is the question of fees. Free places in secondary schools were first introduced in 1907 and the President of the Board then expressed the hope that in Council secondary schools all places would be free. This, however, was a pious hope, for fees were then the rule in almost all schools. In 1920 the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education on Scholarships and Free Places recommended that "the discontinuation of all fees in secondary schools should be regarded as a prospective policy to be carried out as soon as the condition of national finance allows. To decline full responsibility for secondary education, while accepting it for elementary

and part-time post-primary education, is to emphasise an artificial and unsound distinction between the several stages of the education process." In 1924 a Board of Education pamphlet stated that "the beneficial effects of the free place have proved permanent and increasingly obvious." Yet in spite of this clear assertion by the Board of the benefits of the free place system, Circular 1421 was issued in 1932, abolishing free places and substituting for them the "special places" already referred to; and as though to make the somersault as complete as possible, a general raising of the level of fees was also instituted. This was a direct result of what Dr. Tawney dubbed "the golden sentence" in the notorious May Report: "Since the standard of education, elementary and secondary, that is being given to the child of poor parents is already in very many cases superior to that which the middle-class parent is providing for his own child, we feel it is time to pause in this policy of expansion."¹

This policy has led to the position that, in October, 1937, out of all pupils in grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales, as many as 44.3 per cent paid full fees, 9.2 per cent partial fees, while only 46.5 per cent paid no fees. Other data reveal that in March, 1937, only 299 out of the 1,393 grant-aided schools gave 100 per cent special places. An analysis of the actual figures shows that, though there were more pupils in the grant-aided schools in 1937 than in 1936, fewer received their education free and more paid part and full fees. This may seem paradoxical because the number of special places granted was increasing. The reason for the smaller number of free pupils is that a special

¹ Mr. Lowndes, in his book, *The Silent Social Revolution*, has revealed that within a few weeks of the issue of Circular 1421, the Board of Education was bombarded with 1,600 resolutions from meetings of protest, plus a heavy volume of correspondence from private individuals and members of Parliament.

place holder may be required to pay full fees, since the means test is applied after, not before, the places are awarded on the results of the examination. Many children must refuse the special places offered to them, because the L.E.A. classifies their parents as able to pay fees, though the parents cannot, in fact, afford to do so. In other cases children are actually offered free places and maintenance allowances, but the latter are so small that the parents must refuse the places and send the children to work. The places thus left vacant owing to the poverty of these workers are filled by the children of more well-to-do families who can afford to pay fees.

Where 100 per cent special places are instituted, Circular 1444 recommends that authorities "may wish to consider whether there should not be some increase of the tuition fee." It seems that the official wheel has turned a complete revolution since 1924! The following table is instructive:

<i>Tuition fees per term</i>				<i>Number of grant-aided secondary schools</i>	
				1931	1937
Nil	..	..	..	74	Nil
Less than 6 guineas	..	..	..	160	86
6-9 guineas	..	..	..	283	309
9-12 guineas	..	..	..	539	519

The high-fees policy (which is pursued mainly for reasons of economy) is the clearest indication of the present trend in secondary education; and point is given to it by the recently changed attitude to admissions. It is significant that Circular 1444, referring to the large size of many secondary school classes, contemplates a reduction in the size of these classes, not by sub-dividing them, but by "regulating admissions" to the schools. This is no mere aspiration. The number of children entering secondary schools is practically stationary.

Is the Board of Education trying to reduce the number

of pupils in secondary schools to a select minority? Is it aiming at an almost complete barrier between the elementary and secondary school? Is Hadow on "the adolescent" also being side-stepped? These are questions which there is good reason to ask.¹

Nothing, so far, has been said about secondary education in Scotland. Here the problem is entirely different. There are actually more pupils in the secondary departments of secondary schools (many secondary schools take in children before the age of eleven), than in the post-primary departments of primary (elementary) schools, and the work of the two types of school overlaps in the age group twelve to fifteen. At present twenty per 1,000 of the population are at secondary schools; and the proportion of secondary to primary pupils is one in six or seven. This is a situation far in advance of England, though similar to that in Wales. Fees in Scotland, too, in Council schools have, since 1918, been non-existent or only nominal; while the general level of fees, even in schools aided but not maintained by the L.E.As., is usually much lower than in England.

IV. THE JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOL

There are four kinds of junior technical school. In one kind boys are prepared to enter industries or groups of industries—without restriction to particular trades within the industry. A second kind prepare boys and girls to enter specific occupations, e.g. cabinet-making, dressmaking. Then there are schools designed to prepare girls for home management, e.g. junior housewifery schools. Finally there are schools training boys

¹ Mr. Lowndes, in the book referred to, writes: "Moreover, a feeling has spread in Whitehall, in Parliamentary circles, and among the Local Authorities that the country probably has for the present enough accommodation in secondary schools . . . to satisfy the specific needs for which such schools should cater in a modern community."

and girls for entry into commercial life, as shorthand-typists and clerks, e.g. junior commercial schools. In addition, there are the junior schools of art, but these are strictly speaking not technical schools.

There were, in March 1937, only 220 junior technical schools in England and Wales, catering for only about 27,000 pupils. Of these pupils, over 19,000 were boys. In addition there were over 2,000 junior students and about 6,000 senior students in schools of art.

As we have seen, the junior technical school recruits normally at the age of thirteen from pupils who have not already proceeded at eleven to secondary schools. This fact alone reveals the class bias in our system. Those whom the authorities consider to be the best pupils are trained for office jobs, to become black-coated workers, while to industry are relegated the "second line." The Board of Education seems to consider that industrial occupations, whether in the drawing office or at the bench or in junior staff posts, are suitable only for the "left-overs." Technical education, one of the most pressing needs in our industrial age, is not looked upon as something deserving equal consideration with "liberal" training. The best education is still considered that which has least connection with the realities of a machine civilisation, and the cleverest boys are still those who must be removed from the contamination of industry. The result is that much talent that would be better off in a technical school is lost to industry, while good pupils in the technical school have normally no avenue of entering the university, since the training necessary to pass the entrance examination is usually given only in secondary schools.

An analysis of the geographical distribution of these schools reveals great inequalities. The Board of Education pamphlet, *A Review of Junior Technical Schools in England*, points out that "there are 33 county boroughs

and 29 municipal boroughs and urban districts . . . without any schools of the type under consideration, and 22 of them have populations of over 100,000. In the 42 centres with populations between 100,000 and 300,000, only 19 have junior technical schools for boys, 3 have trade schools and 9 have junior commercial schools. It would appear that there is ample room for an extension of this kind of educational provision to meet the needs of industry and commerce throughout the country."

The Board does not exaggerate. That Great Britain (the birthplace of the industrial revolution) should have only about 30,000 pupils in technical schools is an amazing fact and one to whose danger the public must be awakened. That of this number, there are in England less than 5,000 pupils in engineering schools is nothing short of scandalous.

The majority of junior technical schools in England (which admit their pupils at thirteen plus), provide for them a two-year course. The Board explains that in those schools where the age of admission is thirteen or fourteen, "the length of the course is usually suited to the local industrial conditions." This means that pupils are sent into industry at the age when the local employer is prepared to accept them as apprentices, and that the training in the junior technical school must be limited by this. The Board has to admit, in face of this attitude, that "there are obvious advantages in lengthening the course or in postponing the choice of a vocation to a later age."

Fees in the junior technical school are usually much lower than in the secondary school. Of eighty-two schools examined by His Majesty's Inspectors, forty-one had a fee of less than 3 guineas per annum and none charged more than £9. The special place system applies here as in the secondary school. In England, "before

the general adoption of the special place system," wrote the Board's Inspectors, "about 45 per cent of the pupils held scholarships and free places. It is probable that the proportion of special place holders is greater than this, but, of course, a number of them will pay part of the fee." Returns of forty-two schools reveal that of a gross expenditure of roughly £145,000 only £13,000 came in income from fees. It seems hardly worth while collecting this insignificant sum, which means so little to the authorities and may mean a great deal to the parents.

Many schools are seriously deficient in equipment, both technical and literary. Particularly obvious is the dearth of textbooks and well-stocked libraries. "It is remarkable," comments the Board, "how little attention some authorities appear to pay to this essential part of the equipment of their junior technical schools."

To extend technical education, the Government have begun a £12,000,000 programme of development to be spread over ten years. This is certainly to be welcomed and the hope must be expressed that the programme will be prosecuted with energy and speed. This hope is not encouraged when one reads in the latest official report of the Board that "The progress of proposals for new or improved accommodation for technical and art schools has not been so marked in 1937 as in the preceding year." It is surely essential that all measures be taken to ensure that this retrogression is ended and that the programme so eagerly welcomed is put into operation without delay.

V. THE FUTURE OF POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

We have surveyed the existing provisions for post-primary education, have seen the differences in character between the various services; the inferior senior schools,

the defective technical schools and the exclusive secondary schools. We have also noticed the secondary system outside the public control, the private and public schools for which the only open sesame is wealth and birth. The question may therefore be asked: is it possible to create a unified post-primary system for all children, a system in which the only criterion would be the varied aptitudes of our children?

This problem has exercised the minds of many educationists, but no clear answer has been forthcoming. Here we can only suggest some of the solutions proffered, while preserving an open mind for others.

Many educationists believe that the future of post-primary education lies in improving the conditions and amenities of the senior schools so as to make them, in fact, secondary schools but with a more realistic curriculum. These educationists wish to resuscitate Hadowism, and see it fully and imaginatively applied for the benefit of the adolescent. In some areas new senior schools are being built which are, in fact, better than the local secondary schools in structure and amenities. All that is required to bring them up to secondary status would be generous expenditure by the L.E.A. and the Board, and staffing according to secondary standards. This is, however, not an easy task, since it involves also the important question of salaries (*see below*, p. 88). It would require, of course, a great change in the minds of our educational administrators and particularly of the controllers of the exchequer.

Another school of opinion holds that the junior technical school is destined for a great extension in the near future. The Government, it is argued, will more and more realise the importance of technical training, especially since it seems to give more value, as it were, for the money expended, to the industrialist. On the other hand, young people, of their own accord and in their own

interests, desire technical training, and this is one of the main demands of progressive youth organisations which see the failure of the existing senior school.

There is, finally, the multi-bias or multi-lateral school. This scheme envisages all children remaining in the junior schools till the age of eleven plus; then proceeding to the multi-bias school where a general education, graduated according to ability, could be provided for two or three years. At the age of thirteen or fourteen, the children would be classified into streams according to their bent: some would proceed on a technical course, others on a commercial course, others would have a more academic training. All, however, who were suitable would be enabled to pass on to the university from each stream. This scheme involves a very large school for each locality and a minimum leaving age of sixteen. The administrative difficulty of establishing such a system may seem great. It provides, however, definite advantages over our present system. A pupil misplaced in the academic stream could be easily transferred to a course more suitable to his talents. Ability would find expression more surely than at present; and this is the most satisfactory standard for a system of post-primary education.

CHAPTER V

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

THE PROBLEM of securing adequate school buildings is one of the most pressing problems confronting educationists to-day; it is one on whose successful solution hangs the fate of many other important reforms. "At this moment," recently wrote Dr. Spencer, ex-Chief Inspector of the L.C.C., "we are keeping our future citizens, diminishing in number, and, if we value life at all, increasingly precious, in surroundings which were out of date a generation ago. The amenities of the elementary school have fallen well behind the general betterment of living. Even the blacklisted schools have not been replaced, and there are thousands of others which fall below any decent minimum of amenities or convenience. A thorough and almost universal replacement of our present school buildings is required. . . . *Four-fifths of our schools need to be rebuilt or reconditioned within five, or at the most, ten years.*" (Our emphasis.)

Many people claim that little can be done until the local authorities take over possession of the non-provided schools. Reflection on the facts would, however, lead to another conclusion. Though over half the school buildings in England and Wales are non-provided, they cater for less than a third of the elementary school children; the steadily increasing number of Roman Catholic schools cannot affect the situation.¹ Over two-thirds of

¹ There are 50,000 more pupils in Roman Catholic schools to-day than in 1913. The number of Anglican schools, on the other hand, has declined. There are, however, still over 9,000 of them.

the children in State-aided schools are thus in buildings maintained by the Local Authority and it is inconceivable that non-provided schools could remain outside a general movement of reform.

But it would be wrong to assume that non-provided schools are the only bad schools, or even, in all cases, the worst. Those qualified to judge, stress equally the deplorable condition of the maintained and of the non-provided schools.

Dr. Spencer recently made a detailed survey of various localities in which all types of schools were to be found. He gave his impressions of certain representative areas which he visited.

In a "reorganised area," a metropolitan suburb with a mixed population, mainly well-to-do, but containing ancient slums and two new housing estates, he found that the only good schools were in the latter. Had these not been built, "*eleven-twelfths could reasonably be described as bad.*" The scandalous state of many non-provided schools is underlined in his description of a northern cathedral city. It contains one new senior school—"not bad" because it is new; ten junior schools (eight non-provided), all in premises which are deplorably bad and incapable of being repaired even if it were desired to repair them.

A rural county was sampled by visiting twenty-one schools. Not one was up to present-day standards for rural buildings. "But this sample, which I believed to be a fair, indeed a favourable one, demonstrated the obvious, that as a class the rural schools are worse than town schools!" Lack of amenities was revealed by other investigators in a survey of 250 Liverpool schools; 72 per cent had inadequate heating and no hot water, 41 per cent were badly lit; 50 per cent had no medical inspection room; and 18 per cent were totally unsuitable as schools.

The latest Scottish Education report admits that, while progress is being made, there is still much to be done by way of installing up-to-date heating and sanitary systems in Scottish schools, in addition to building modern classrooms and practical rooms: "There are some schools where the accommodation is so defective that the need for replacement or reconstruction is urgent."

The Director of Education in Pembrokeshire has described a visit he made into a cramped one-room school, the teacher of which was still invisible even after, to the great joy of the scholars, his opening of the door had knocked down one of the easels and blackboards. "In that school," the report goes on, "the dampness of the walls was hidden by the beautiful posters received free from the Department of Overseas Trade." "An educational shambles" is the description of another school, this time in Gosport. Complaint of rats in a school in South Bucks led to an investigation, in which a headmaster counted sixteen to twenty rats in the main classroom. A survey in Blackburn also showed grave educational deficiencies. A survey by the London Teachers' Association of 243 London elementary schools, the legacy of previous L.E.As. to the Labour L.C.C., revealed the following state of affairs:

<i>Defects noted</i>	<i>Percentage of total number of schools surveyed</i>			
Unsuitable buildings	18.75
Bad sanitation	52
Inadequate heating and no hot water	72.25
Bad lighting	41.75
Inadequate playgrounds	46.75
Inadequate hall accommodation or none				23
No medical room	50
No staff room	16
No practical rooms	45.5

Little material is available on secondary school buildings and it can be said that, on the whole, they are much more satisfactory than the elementary schools, because more money is spent on them and more care and attention given. A different story, however, may be told of junior technical school buildings.

The reports of Inspectors on the premises occupied by the junior technical schools are depressing, and it is evident that the review of the provision of accommodation for this branch of technical education is very necessary. This is the view of the Board of Education. Many technical school buildings are unsatisfactory; they were built for a limited number of evening classes many years ago, and so are completely unsuitable for the manifold needs of an up-to-date technical school for pupils of thirteen to sixteen.

The following table summarises the chief defects abstracted from the reports of eighty-two full inspections:

<i>Defect</i>	<i>Number of times noted</i>			
Gymnasium	38
Workshops and practical rooms	26
Laboratories	14
Assembly hall	15
Classrooms	13
Library	13
Dining-room	12
Common-room	11
Staff-room	9
Cloakrooms	7
Manifold defects	6

The facts are almost common form; they could be found again and again throughout the country. The point is clear. The new schools, particularly those built on new housing estates, are sometimes good, even excellent. It is these schools that are paraded in newspaper headlines; that are opened with addresses by

eminent personages, who dwell proudly on the wonders of our educational progress. But the real character of the average school is not bruited abroad.

It may be thought, that, in this description, the shadows have been deliberately deepened. But a little reflection on official statistics should be sufficient to dispel such an illusion. There are still 960 schools on the official black list for England and Wales. The black list comprises the very worst schools, which twelve years ago were marked out for either destruction or radical alteration. According, that is, to the standards of 1924 (when the list was published), 5 per cent of our schools are officially admitted to be totally unfit for their purpose.

"Blacklisted" schools are only the very worst cases. "The rate of deterioration in other schools," stated a speaker recently in the House of Commons, "is quicker than the pace of the Government in renovating the black-listed schools, and if a new survey were made at the moment, instead of the black list being less . . . it would be greater than ever before." A resolution of the Association of Education Committees has indeed called for a new survey. In actual fact, only seventy-three schools were removed from the black list in 1937, seventy-seven in 1936, and sixty-nine in 1935. Is it therefore too much to claim that the Government is merely tinkering with a problem of the utmost gravity?

Let parents pay a visit to some of the good, new schools that are being built. Let them walk along the broad corridors, look out of the many windows on to the spacious playing-field, and then ask themselves the question, "Why are my children denied these amenities?" These schools, it should be emphasised, are not schools for the rich. They are schools kept up in the same way as the worm-eaten, dimly-lit, badly-heated school. Their excellence is due merely to the fact that the Education Authority, aided by wise guidance and local

pressure, has built a new school worthy of a new generation. Such schools *must* replace our old buildings if our children are not to grow up mentally stunted by the gloomy surroundings in which they are at present being educated. How many parents are there who would resist an extra rate, or an increased tax, if they felt that the money was bringing happiness to hundreds of thousands of children?

What does Circular 1444 suggest to meet the situation? The Circular admits the existence of some of the most obvious defects needing to be remedied, and offers to pay 50 per cent of the local expenditure on buildings—offers to restore, that is to say, the building grant to the level reduced in 1931; but this grant is to be only for a limited period—now extended till December 31st, 1940. The Circular shows no consciousness of the radical changes needed; it does not even mention the necessity of a big programme of rebuilding. Capital expenditure (i.e. on buildings) approved by the Board in the sixteen months after the passing of the Education Act was still considerably less than that approved in the twelve months of 1930, when Labour was in office.

Can the L.E.As. consider anything but a mockery the grandiose suggestions for new buildings published by the Board: "The ideal should be envisaged as a single-storey building, opened out to the air and sunshine in every part. Playgrounds should be placed well away from the school buildings, space being reserved for school gardens and for open-air work; some also for flower borders and shrubs. School buildings, moreover, should not be close up to the noise and dust of roads, nor should playgrounds be too closely overlooked from roads. . . . The school, in fact, should be afforded a measure of quiet and privacy from the outside world, and, inside, should have ample space for its activities."

All very excellent! But where is the money coming

from to cover the whole country with such schools, for that is what is required? Surely not from the industrial worker or the ratepayer in a Depressed Area! But perhaps this criticism is carping. For the Government has already set an example in one school. A million pounds was spent on a new school for naval cadets. This meant an expenditure of £5,000 per pupil. The cost per pupil in new schools as shown in tenders received from January to March, 1937, was, in the case of junior and infants schools £40 13s. and senior schools £62 2s., while for secondary schools for which loans were sanctioned in a similar period, the cost per pupil was £89 18s. And already when the ink on the Government suggestions for buildings is hardly dry, the Chairman of the Devonshire Education Committee has complained that rearmament expenditure has resulted in the Board of Education cutting down essential requirements in the planning of new schools.

It is clear that only decisive action by the central authority can initiate the drastic rebuilding scheme required. What is necessary is a special plan such as that suggested by the Ten Year Plan group, which would involve an expenditure as payment of interest on a building loan of about £4,650,000 a year. Is this too much to ask from a Government committed to colossal schemes of rearmament? Why not, after all, a loan for schools? Such a proposal would seize the imagination of the country. It would be a programme of tangible, concrete reform, from which everyone would benefit; a programme that would yield rich interest in human welfare on our living national capital.

CHAPTER VI

THE SIZE OF CLASSES

CLOSELY ALLIED TO THE PROBLEM of school buildings is that of the size of the classes within the buildings. It is on this question, we think, that the general public is most in the dark and the Government most misleading. The Board of Education speaks of the reduction in the "size of *over-large* classes, *where they still exist*." (Our emphasis.) By "over-large" is meant classes with more than fifty pupils, and it might be assumed from the wording that such classes are very few. Actually, on March 31st, 1937, there were still 2,646 of them. There is still, therefore, much headway to be made, especially when the matter is considered in the light of official policy, for the Government definitely states that it hopes for a reduction in staffs wherever a fall in attendance justifies it. Reduced numbers will thus not mean smaller classes, and the reduction, even of "over-large" classes, is likely to be retarded. The whole way, however, in which the Board deals with the question is far from satisfactory. Is the Board's interpretation of "over-large," it may be asked, justifiable? Progressive educational opinion holds that any class with more than thirty pupils in it is "over-large" and one of the many recommendations of the Board's own Consultative Committee is that forty should be the maximum number for any class in the elementary schools. In Scotland, the regulations demand a maximum of fifty in junior and infants' schools and forty in "advanced divisions" schools, i.e. classes for children over twelve years.

Good progress is claimed in reducing the numbers in classes which exceed the limits set by the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department.

Actually in the last three years there has been a decline of 22 per cent in the number of classes in England and Wales with forty to fifty pupils; but this development, though welcome, still leaves much to be accomplished. At least 2 million children (or over two-fifths of the English elementary school population) are still being educated in batches of over forty, while the overwhelming majority of pupils are in classes of over thirty (there were 107,684 such classes in 1937). If the figures are analysed in greater detail, it emerges that in 1937 there were 13,000 infant classes (which means over 500,000 pupils) with over forty children; while there were over 4,000 senior classes of the age group eleven to fourteen (or about 200,000 pupils) in classes of over forty children. This latter fact is interesting, for official opinion, which holds paradoxically enough that children over eleven need more individual attention than infants, has set the nominal maximum for secondary school classes at thirty pupils. Now, over 50 per cent of secondary school children are aged fourteen or under; and yet in senior classes in elementary schools, which cover the same age group, a class is only considered "over-large" if it has over fifty in it.

In secondary schools also, large classes are a problem.

The normal limit of classes in England and Wales is thirty pupils, and in Scotland for the first three years, forty and thereafter thirty. On March 31st, 1937, there were in England and Wales 1,393 grant-aided secondary schools, or four more than on the same date the previous year. But, though there were over 2,000 additional scholars, only 40 per cent of these were accommodated in new schools. The natural consequence was that secondary schools also suffered from overcrowding. In 1937 the number of classes that contained more than thirty pupils, but less than thirty-five, was no less than 4,606 or over 20 per cent of the total number of classes.

Seventy-eight classes, only one less than in the previous year, contained over thirty-five pupils.

The Board claimed that this congestion was temporary, due to a bulge in the post-War births, and that nothing could be done about it. Thus, to achieve an economy, 150,000 adolescents were bunched together in large classes. The tragedy of the situation here is that the curriculum of the secondary schools involves a heavy strain on the pupils, a strain which must have been intensified in these abnormal conditions. But economy forbade the only two remedies—new buildings or increases in staff. On the contrary, Circular 1428 of the Board of Education enunciated the principle that, as posts fell vacant, they should remain so; this is a method of reducing staffs without actual dismissals. There is little doubt that the Board consider that secondary school staffing is over-generous, and there is a real danger that it will be stabilised at the present high level. This would, in the long run, affect elementary school standards, and the demand for small classes in secondary schools must therefore be taken up with vigour. It is not for nothing that the Board expresses itself satisfied with the “educational” effects of Circular 1428.

It is both sad and instructive to see how barren of fruit much of the research work done on education still remains. The typically English contribution to educational theory is usually considered to be the concept of “individuality.” The aim of education, our theorists hold, is to develop the individuality of the child in a suitable social environment. Yet while this theory has been given almost official recognition, official practice is such as we have described—children herded in batches so unwieldy as often, unfortunately, to make necessary a strict discipline in which the children learn to obey without question; a habit of submission which prevents their full and free development.

CHAPTER VII

THE UNIVERSITY

A UNIVERSITY SYSTEM is the apex of any educational scheme. The democratic community in need of an adequate supply of doctors, engineers, teachers and other professional and technical groups, supplies the need from the university, with its regular output of graduates trained in the most advanced schools in the land. Does the university, however, draw from all sections of the community the talent that is the promise of its success? The early development of the university as a class institution has already been traced. Is it a class institution to-day?

To-day there are sixteen universities, three university colleges and two technical colleges of university status.

Great Britain, covering every great industrial town and several other areas. In 1934-5 they were attended by over 50,000 full-time students, of whom 42 per cent were aided from public funds. At least 50 per cent of the students of provincial university institutions, it has been estimated, are ex-public elementary school pupils. But what proportion of public elementary school pupils reach the university? The following table is significant:

ENGLAND AND WALES, 1937

1. Average number of pupils in registers in public elementary schools	5,248,260
2. Number of ex-public elementary school pupils in the grant-aided secondary schools	358,863
3. Approximate number of ex-public elementary school pupils in university institutions	21,000

In 1937, 2,339 ex-public elementary school pupils left grant-aided secondary schools for the universities, or a reduction of about 10 per cent on the average for 1933-7; 1936 figures, compared with the average 1932-6 also showed a 10 per cent reduction; while 1935 figures compared with the average of 1931-5 showed a reduction of 8 per cent. There has, therefore, been a steady decline in the numbers of working-class children entering the universities. Not only is this the case, but the *proportion* of entrants from grant-aided secondary schools, to the total number of entrants to the universities from *all* sources is declining (as the following table shows), while both the proportion and the number of entrants from other sources (i.e. the public and similar schools for the rich) has been increasing:

Year	Admissions to universities from all sources	Admissions from grant-aided secondary schools	Per cent of column 3 to 2
1932-3 ..	11,109	4,566	41
1933-4 ..	11,813	4,389	37.2
1934-5 ..	11,655	4,192	36.0
1935-6 ..	11,362	3,824	34.7
1936-7 ..	not given	3,578	?
1937-8 ..	not given	3,587	?

Also, while less than one in every hundred pupils in grant-aided secondary schools reach the University every year, over eight in every hundred pupils from the public and similar schools, do so. This is in spite of the fact that there are five times as many pupils in the former as the latter.

The pupil from the grant-aided secondary school is usually enabled to enter a university by means of a scholarship or bursary, provided usually either by the local Authorities or private charitable and educational societies (e.g. the Carnegie Trust). The best of the scholarships

awarded are State scholarships given by the Government. But their number is too few; there were in 1937, over 5,800 entries for 360 scholarships. The figures of admissions to the universities seem to show either that workers are becoming too poor to take advantage of the benefits provided or that there has been a reduction in the total number of awards given or that discrimination is being exercised against the working-class child, for there is no decline in working-class talent. In scholarship examinations grant-aided secondary school pupils usually hold their own with the best pupils from the public schools; thus, for instance, out of all the open entrance scholarships for Oxford and Cambridge in 1936, over 50 per cent were won by pupils from grant-aided schools. That they can hold their own at the university, too, is shown by the fact that out of 263 students from English and Welsh schools who were in 1937 placed in Class I of the Final Honours School or Triposes, 158 were ex-pupils of grant-aided secondary schools. Thus there can be no educational ground for limiting the opportunities of such pupils entering the universities. More pupils from the grant-aided secondary schools should be given facilities to enter the university by the provision of more scholarships by the Local Authorities and the Government.

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The Universities are not financed jointly by the L.E.As. and the Government in the same way that the schools are. They receive an unconditional Government grant distributed by the University Grants Committee (a Committee of the Privy Council), and are largely dependent on this. The universities are not inspected by His Majesty's Inspectors; they are autonomous bodies making their own regulations. Parliamentary legislation alone could affect their policy. Apart from Government

grants, the universities are endowed by private donation ; many own property and live from rent and the proceeds of other investments. They also receive substantial and unconditional grants from the Local Authorities.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HEALTH SERVICES

I. GROWTH

FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS of compulsory education, attention was directed to the defective and infirm child. Special provision had to be made for the blind and the deaf, the dumb, and the epileptic, and the deformed children, and a whole network of "special schools" grew up for children who were mentally and physically abnormal. It was not, however, till 1908 that the school system developed a new limb in the shape of a medical service which embraced the normal as well as the abnormal pupil. In 1907 the Board of Education was given "the duty of medically inspecting children on entrance into the elementary school" and at other times, and the power of attending to their health and physical condition. Already, in 1906, legislation had been passed permitting (but not compelling) L.E.As. to provide free meals for necessitous children. Since then the service has been expanded until its branches reach out into every corner of the child's life.

There is no doubt whatever that the child population has greatly improved in health and physique as a result of the work of the service; any discussion of the School Medical Service to-day must be made with that understanding. It is indeed, because of the success that has attended past efforts, that present deficiencies must be pointed out and the direction of future progress

indicated. We propose, therefore, to examine the system in this spirit.

II. MEDICAL INSPECTION

All children in the public elementary schools are given what is called a "routine" examination on entrance and at the ages of eight and twelve. Some children may be re-inspected the year following the routine, and others referred for special inspection on another occasion. If treatment is specified, it may be given in a school clinic or, by arrangement with a Local Authority or voluntary organisation, in a hospital or other institution. No charge is made for treatment.

The "routine" is the backbone of the School Medical Service, for it provides the only opportunity for a complete overhaul of every child at school. It is natural, therefore, that in recent years, increasing attention has been paid to it among school medical officers and others concerned with the health of the schoolchild. For a long time, the chief burden of the critics of the "routine" has been that it is too perfunctory. Occupying, as it does, from six to ten minutes, it can only give a superficial clinical picture, and cannot reveal in the schoolchild any deep-seated defects, such as slight rickets or pulmonary weakness. The primary "routine," moreover, does not consider sight, which is left for a first examination till the child is eight; yet the Board of Education has actually admitted the need for a *pre-school* ophthalmic service. Most informed medical opinion is convinced of the need for either extending the present routine system or replacing it with a more continuous type of medical supervision.

One of the weaknesses of the system is, for instance, the position in the secondary and technical schools. At present the regulations for secondary and technical

schools specify medical examinations at the age of twelve and in each subsequent year of attendance, but only the inspections at twelve and fifteen need be detailed. Provision of treatment, moreover, is not compulsory, and treatment is supplied by only 127 authorities. It is difficult to find a satisfactory reason for this perfunctory handling of the health of secondary school children. Especially so as the Board is ready to admit that the strain of the secondary pupil is very heavy owing to examination work and homework. It is clear that equality of status with the elementary school, in the field of medical service, must be accorded to the secondary and technical schools.

Other serious criticisms of the service as a whole have been made. The doctors lack, above all, a standard of physique or good health by which to measure the value of their findings. Many, it seems, work on a debased standard and are consequently satisfied with a fairly low state of physical development in their inspections. Reports vary bewilderingly, especially, as will be seen, in the assessment of "malnutrition." Some doctors are scandalised at the condition of teeth among their patients, while others are complacent with a return equally bad. Thus, what is required is a national standard of optimum fitness and development laid down by the Board and the special treatment of all children who are "under-fit." This, combined with a more continuous supervision of the child's general health than at present, should go a longer way towards creating a healthy nation than more physical jerks. It should be emphasised that the results of the fitness campaign of the Government will be negligible unless its basis is a more fundamental stock-taking and reform of our school children's health in all its aspects.

This would involve a close and sympathetic liaison between medical officer and teacher. For, if fitness is to

be stressed, health in general must become a more positive part of the school curriculum, but without laying further burdens on the teaching staff. It is the teacher who is the first person likely to notice the functional signs of disease, which appear before the physical signs; children who exhibit such signs, such as pallor, tiredness, defects of the special senses, cases of long or irregular absences and deficiency in intelligence, should be reported for examination as soon as possible. This implies the preparedness of all head-teachers to receive such reports as a matter of course; and a far wider service of school clinics and a far larger staff of school nurses than exists at present, are required to make the reports effective. It would be useful, if all children were weighed, measured and perhaps tested for liability to muscular fatigue at least twice, or preferably four times, a year; if all children who showed any deviation from a desirable standard were instantly reported to the doctor; since these tests offer a useful guide in measuring general physical development. Now, such tests would be made by the nurse, and at present one nurse is responsible, on the average, for from 2,000 to 3,000 children. If, therefore, the nurses' duties were to be extended, the staff would probably have to be doubled. Circular 1444, however, ignores this matter completely. Similarly, if all the reforms outlined were adopted, the system whereby at present one doctor looks after, on the average, over 6,500 children, would need radical alteration.

III. THE DENTAL SERVICES

The dental service is perhaps the weakest link in the chain of the School Medical System. There are at present, at best, the equivalent of one full-time dentist

for roughly every 6,500 children, though Circular 1444 has recommended that one dentist should deal with only 5,000 patients in an urban and 4,000 in a rural area. (Expressed otherwise, there are at present the equivalent of 747 full-time dentists, whereas 1,000 are required.) An improvement up to the suggested standard would, however, only serve to meet the needs as at present estimated. Some facts and figures will show what they are. In 1937 the number of children examined was 3,503,232, of whom 2,469,623 were noted as requiring treatment. Of those, only 1,544,766 received it, leaving nearly 1,000,000 children untreated; and the Chief Medical Officer has pointed out that the treatment given is by no means complete, and that it cannot even be assumed that where *no* treatment was specified the child was dentally fit.

Why does this unsatisfactory position exist? There are two causes: insufficient dentists, and reluctance of parents to bring their children for treatment. In a fully developed system it would be part of the duty of the increased staff of nurses to visit homes and persuade the parents to accept dental treatment until such acceptance had become customary; this is vitally necessary. And when the number of acceptances rose, so the number of full-time dentists would also have to be increased. A recent estimate in the *Medical Officer* suggests that, if dental acceptances were very high, from 2,000 to 3,000 children would be as many as one dentist could manage in the course of one year, and the Board of Education has taken a similar view. Finally, the treatment should be provided free as a matter of course; it is possible that the charges made are important reasons for parents' slowness in bringing their children for treatment.

IV. NUTRITION AND THE PROVISION OF MEALS
AND MILK

So far, the health system in general has been the subject of analysis; it is now necessary to examine one important aspect of it, the nutrition of school children.

In 1935, the Chief Medical Officer decided on a new method of classifying children according to the state of their nutrition. Four categories were established: excellent, normal, slightly sub-normal and bad. The term "malnutrition," the catchword of so many anti-Government campaigns, was discreetly dropped.

The new classification is made on clinical grounds, and no objective standards by which to measure healthy nutrition are laid down; the subjective judgments of doctors in widely ranging localities form the strawless bricks which are heaped up to build the edifice of Government conclusions—for to assess without an objective standard is to make bricks without straw. The need for such a standard is dismissed by the Board as "destructive criticism . . . unappreciative of the administrative difficulties involved"!

It is useful to examine the classification more closely. What precisely is "normal" nutrition? The reports of the local medical officers are revealing. Some interpret "normal" as meaning the average for their particular district: others, as meaning a national average. But, it may be argued, is *average* a suitable criterion? In the realm of nutrition, one would suppose, it is an "optimum" that is required. And, can the average for a poor area be compared with the average for a prosperous one?

In 1936, the examinations revealed that 0·7 per cent of those examined were in the "bad" class; 10·5 per cent were "slightly sub-normal." These figures are practically the same as for 1935.

Data for 1936 for other industrial areas reveal the following "bad" cases:

<i>Area</i>	<i>Percentage of children examined and classified slightly sub-normal</i>
West Riding	14.67
Durham County	19
Leeds	14.5
Staffordshire	14.22
Sheffield	12.7
Derbyshire	15.2

<i>Area</i>	<i>Percentage of children examined and classified bad</i>
Birmingham	3.2
Durham County	1.6
Kingston, Hull	1.4
Derbyshire	0.8
Newcastle-on-Tyne	0.77
Kent County	0.7

But these are not the worst cases. Some of the worst figures are for the Depressed Areas:

<i>Area</i>	<i>Percentage of children slightly sub-normal</i>	<i>Percentage of children —bad</i>
Hebburn	26.3	3.5
Merthyr	26.4	2.9

The Board's general comment is that figures are high because of the new method of classification (especially the use of the word "slightly"), and because of the increasing responsibility of doctors, who realise that free meals for the children depend on their opinion.

Nevertheless, the Government is much perturbed by the nutritional state of the nation's children, and a great deal of attention is paid to the subject in the Reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board. The latest Report recognises that "... from the health standpoint,

there is no other single measure which would do more to improve the health, development, and resistance to disease of the rising generation, than a largely increased consumption of safe milk. . . ." In addition, it agrees that "... to expect an undernourished child to derive benefit from physical education denotes ignorance or insincerity of purpose." What, in view of these statements, is being done to improve the unsatisfactory position disclosed?

At present free milk and meals are given in some measure by 259 out of the 315 L.E.As. in England and Wales. Altogether 467,000 children received free milk in 1936-7, while nearly 140,000 received free solid meals. In addition, milk (usually one-third of a pint), is supplied to another 2,136,644 children at half-price under the scheme of the Milk Marketing Board. The scheme covers 83.3 per cent of all public elementary school departments, but the percentage of children who take milk either free or for payment is only 49 of the total elementary school population. In Scotland, only 33,800 children received free meals in 1936, while the whole number of children receiving milk under the Milk Marketing Board scheme, whether free or for payment, was only 338,000, or just over 54 per cent of the total number of children in public elementary schools.

Why is it that about half the children in Great Britain do not avail themselves of the opportunity offered by the scheme?

The scheme has not entirely succeeded, say the official spokesmen, for a variety of reasons: some children don't like cold milk in winter, others don't like any milk, girls are afraid of getting fat, parents are prejudiced against milk—in fact any reason except that parents are too poor to afford it! The Board naïvely points out that to many children milk drinking is often a "novelty." Such is the tragedy of our civilisation that through sheer

poverty children cannot get accustomed to taking what is their most necessary food. Many parents who do provide money for milk do so often at the cost of great hardship to themselves. In a working-class budget milk for two or three children daily is a not inconsiderable calculation, and what the children receive the parents must do without. Let it be finally noted that, despite the Board's excuses, the fact remains that the number of children receiving free milk is even less now than the number officially classified as suffering from subnormal and bad nourishment.

The number of children receiving free solid meals has been steadily declining in England and Wales in the last few years (though it has risen in Scotland, owing to the increased provision made by the Glasgow Labour Education Authority). The Board, while attributing the reductions to industrial improvement, stated that "It cannot, however, be viewed with equanimity, as it seems probable that there are in many areas children who would benefit by an extension of the provision of free meals in addition to the provision of milk." The Chief Medical Officer has declared that "The proportion of children receiving free meals in any area, such, for example, as the Special Areas (Tyneside and South Wales), seems to bear little relation to the probable needs of the area as suggested by the index of unemployment or by the returns of subnormal nutrition. Nor in those areas in which both free meals and free milk are provided does it seem often related to the percentage of children receiving free milk."

The reason for this state of affairs is to be found chiefly in the Government's own method of deciding who shall benefit by the free-food regulations. The procedure is laid down in Circular 1443 of the Board of Education, which states that all children showing defects, either physical or educational, are eligible for free meals. The

deciding factor is the doctor's opinion. Now, enlightened medical feeling is firmly opposed to a clinical test as the basis for the granting of free food; a leader in the *British Medical Journal* some time back bluntly stated that under the present system of hurried routine inspections and nutrition surveys, "it would be better not to pretend that medical selection for free meals and milk is more to be relied upon than selection on the basis of a family's capacity to buy food." Circular 1443 also states that a child must show the *effects* of malnutrition before he is given free food. Could a more reprehensible principle be practised in this age of preventive medicine? The only way of avoiding the evil which must be the consequence of Circular 1443 is to organise a free-food system based on a satisfactory income assessment (which will involve a reconsideration of their scales by many L.E.As.). Sir John Orr's convincing figures on the low food consumption of the mass of the people leave no room whatever for doubt on this point. The question of costs thus naturally arises. Milk even at 1½d. a pint is too dear. As it can be supplied to factories at 5½d. a gallon, or less than ¾d. a pint, why should it not be supplied to the Government also at this price in the interests of the children's health?

As far as solid meals are concerned, Mr. Oliver Stanley, when President of the Board of Education, stated that they should cost 5d. each. But this figure is cried too high, in order, it would seem, to exaggerate costs. The L.C.C. provides satisfactory meals at 2d. per head, while in Kent the cost of the food is less than this. If free meals for all children under eighteen on 200 days of the year would cost £24,000,000 on Mr. Stanley's estimate, is the figure of over £10,000,000 on the more moderate estimate too much to pay for a healthy youth?

The expanded food service envisaged would involve a wide extension of the number of school canteens. At

present many Authorities do not provide canteens. The quality of the food, however, and the amenities of the canteen must be improved. The Board's inspectors have commented acidly on the "Poor Law" atmosphere about some of the school canteens, and the unsatisfactory nature of their menus. Free milk and meals should be regarded as a right, not as charity.

V. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, one point must be emphasised. Ill-health is not due to malnutrition alone. A satisfactory level of health in our school population is dependent on a general improvement in the amenities of living. Bad housing, overcrowding, sleeplessness, insufficient relaxation and holidays, all take their toll and leave their mark on the child. The children of the well-to-do who do not attend the State schools cannot take advantage of the benefits of the School Medical Service. But they have no need of them to anything like the same extent. Experiments long ago showed the differences in physique between public school and secondary schoolboys. Experiments to-day have revealed that the differences in height and weight even between *secondary* schoolboys in Surrey and *secondary* schoolboys in a depressed area are very great.

The School Medical Service, wisely extended, can do much to raise the general level of health. It must be made to do so, for every year that passes means the passing of another generation out of its beneficial control.

CHAPTER IX

ADULT EDUCATION

I. ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

IT IS DIFFICULT to define adult education. To the average individual it must mean any form of the instruction of grown-ups; the Board of Education, however, recognises as adult education only certain types of "liberal" non-technical study, classifying other more utilitarian courses under the regulations for "Further Education." In this chapter, both types of adult education will be dealt with.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a number of working-men's colleges were created to provide full or part-time education for a limited number of workers. Examples of such colleges were Morley College and the Working Men's College at Crowndale Road, London. In the 'seventies, a wider movement developed, this time springing from the older universities. Actuated by philanthropic motives, a number of dons, first in Cambridge and then in Oxford, planned to extend the benefits of tuition by university tutors to workers in both town and countryside. The movement gained momentum and soon the provincial universities too were taking part in it. Before long special university departments were created to deal with these "extra-mural" studies, which at first were courses of "extension lectures" chiefly in history and literature.

The same problem of adult education was approached from the workers' angle by an organisation called the Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.), founded

in 1903 by Dr. Albert Mansbridge. Many workers' organisations gave the W.E.A. their support and it soon occupied the primary place in workers' education; though it was political, it insisted on its non-party basis. It was not long before the W.E.A., together with the Universities Committees responsible for "extension" work, organised "tutorial classes" for workers who desired to study particular subjects seriously for a normal minimum of three years. Joint Committees representing the W.E.A. and the universities were set up to direct the development of tutorial class studies.

II. ADULT EDUCATION TO-DAY

In 1937, nearly 15,000 students attended all types of tutorial classes in England and Wales. For less serious students, the W.E.A. organised one-year courses (twenty-four meetings) or terminal courses (twelve meetings), and a great variety of short courses and single lectures; these were attended in 1937 by nearly 46,000 students. Other bodies, such as the Educational Settlement Association (e.g. Toynbee Hall), the National Industrial Alliance, etc., also organise various types of courses. These, and other bodies, accounted for 4,000 students; while University Extension Courses were attended by nearly 9,000 students. In Scotland over 5,000 students attended all types of adult education classes.

The various bodies mentioned, and a number of others who cater for adult education, are voluntary organisations. That is to say, they must find their own finances. Some of the organisations, like the Y.M.C.A., are wealthy and have little financial worry: others, like the Educational Settlements, are philanthropic bodies and rely on the sources of income usual in such cases. The W.E.A. is financed both by individual donation and

by trade union funds. The Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, a joint committee of various trade unions, helps to pay for the education of their members by subscribing to organisations, such as the W.E.A., which organise classes, and by providing funds for other educational activities, for example, residential workers' summer schools.

But if the voluntary bodies organise the classes, the State, either directly, or through the L.E.As., assists them after they are organised, provided the classes meet with their approval. The system works roughly in this way: the W.E.A. (for example), through its own efforts, will find a number of students who wish to study, say, economic history. A tutor (usually someone of good academic standing), is provided, a syllabus drawn up and application is then made to the Board of Education for "recognition." Then, if the class has a minimum number of twelve students, and intends to meet for at least eleven lectures, and if the syllabus and tutor are approved by the Board, the Board will undertake full financial responsibility for the tutor's fees (on a fixed scale). In certain cases (e.g. London), the L.E.A. pays for tutors and the Board recognises the expenditure as eligible for grant under the Adult Education Regulations. Tutorial and extension classes are supported jointly by the universities and Government. Thus, in England and Wales, the system is that the voluntary body or the university assume the responsibility for classes for whose upkeep the Government or the L.E.As. mainly pay.

In Scotland, however, the voluntary body has not this responsibility. Tutorial classes are conducted on the same lines as in England, only that the L.E.As. are represented on the Committees. For other classes, the voluntary body must seek recognition for every class from the relevant L.E.A. and the L.E.A. will take both administrative and financial responsibility for conducting them.

Though there has been a tendency in recent years for an increase in the study of subjects, such as psychology, literature and natural science, political and economic subjects are still much in demand. It is this emphasis that is probably the reason for the Government's lack of support for the voluntary bodies in their organising work. For adult education classes are frequently the breeding-grounds of Socialism; places where capitalism is theoretically torn to shreds with the dual weapon of working-class experience and academic argument.

Organisations, however, such as the W.E.A. profess to be undesirous of Government support in their administrative work. They fear that financial aid may lead to political control, and, though the W.E.A. is non-party, it is definitely political; as an organisation it conducts its own political campaigns on educational and allied problems, which frequently are in opposition to Government policy.

III. INDEPENDENCE OR GOVERNMENT GRANTS?

The attitude of the W.E.A., however, in accepting grants to pay for the tutors has been criticised by another organisation, the National Council of Labour Colleges, which claims that, though the W.E.A. may be independent as an organisation, its classes, and therefore its teaching, are finally subject to official control. The Government, by disapproving (for example) of a syllabus with a particular bias, could automatically prevent such a course being held by refusing grants; in such circumstances the W.E.A. could not proceed without paying its own tutors or relying on voluntary assistance.

This latter course is adopted by the N.C.L.C., and since the matter raises issues of social importance, it will be as well to examine the history of this body. In

1899, Ruskin College was founded in Oxford by a group of American admirers of the great Socialist. They proclaimed definite objects for the college; its students were to be trained in subjects essential to working-class leadership; their aim was to raise, but not rise out of, their class. When American help was withdrawn, the Trades Union Congress became Ruskin College's greatest supporter and in 1907 various unions subscribed money and founded scholarships. Two years later, dissatisfied with the curriculum and the "undue" influence of the University, a group of students seceded from the College and established a Labour College, associated with the Plebs League, a body which contained ex-students and supporters of Ruskin College. In 1921 it took the more fitting title of the National Council of Labour Colleges, and a large number of trade unions and working-class organisations became affiliated to it and supported it financially. By 1922 the N.C.L.C. reached with its teachings 15,000 students in classes all over the country. To-day, however, the main work of the N.C.L.C. seems to be in correspondence courses, while the W.E.A. works entirely through classes.

It is only to be expected that rivalry for working-class support should exist between the N.C.L.C., which, claiming a Marxist point of view in education, announces its purpose of not merely studying society, but changing it, and the W.E.A. which, with its academic, non-partisan outlook, nevertheless intensively studies the problems of the working-class movement. The problem seems to be whether all subjects should be taught from a Marxist standpoint or whether the tutors should try to teach in the traditionally "impartial" manner. There is undoubtedly a strong case for a workers' educational organisation, teaching from a Marxist angle, completely independent of all Government subsidy: but, on the other hand, conditions being as

they are, the financial inducement which the Government grant offers to the W.E.A. is an important factor in attracting good scholarship to its ranks, scholarship which may also incidentally be Marxist. It should be noted that the Government regulations insist on the discussion element in all classes.

Another organisation which has little national trade union support, but much local and unofficial support arose on the grounds that the N.C.L.C. was not fulfilling its proclaimed Marxist purpose. This is the Marx House Memorial School and Library founded in 1933. This organisation has grouped round itself Communist and Left Labour elements and shows a very high standard of working-class scholarship and criticism, which bids fair to achieve the recognition it so richly deserves. Its distinguished list of tutors include such names as R. Page Arnot, R. Palme Dutt, T. A. Jackson, John Strachey and J. B. S. Haldane and its influence among active trade-union and Socialist workers is rapidly growing.

IV. CONTINUATION CLASSES

Non-"liberal" adult education is of three types: technical, commercial and administrative, and art.

Much of it takes the form of evening classes in technical colleges and evening institutes; but there are also day classes in colleges and schools. In 1936 nearly 28,000 students took part in day classes, while over 950,000 attended evening classes. These classes covered the social sciences, languages, mathematics, technical subjects and a great deal of commercial work, e.g. shorthand and typewriting. Over 50,000 students attended art classes. In addition, there were about 10,000 full or part-time students in senior technical day colleges. It is through the medium of such classes that

those pupils who have normally had to leave school at fourteen acquire the necessary qualifications to improve their economic status. Junior posts in Local Government and the Civil Service, staff jobs in industry, are often the fruit of evenings spent in the evening institute or technical college. The large numbers attending these classes is in itself evidence of the fallacy of the claim that education should stop at the age of fourteen or fifteen.

CHAPTER X

THE TEACHING SERVICE

I. TRAINING AND SUPPLY

THE AVENUE OF ENTRY into the teaching profession in England to-day is normally the Board of Education Certificate or the diploma of a university training department. The former usually leads to a post in an elementary school and, until recently, the latter usually led to a post in a secondary school. The certificate is obtained by a course of two years' theoretical and practical tuition at a training college which may be maintained or aided either by the Board of Education, an L.E.A., or a religious body; and the diploma by a four years' course of which the first three years are spent in qualifying for a university degree and the last year in professional training in a university training department. The standard of attainment in the profession is to-day at its highest point. Practically all teachers have had a full secondary education and the number of university graduates is steadily increasing. There were still, however, over 25,000 uncertificated teachers in England and Wales in the elementary schools in 1937, that is, about 15 per cent of the total number of teachers employed; while, year after year, secondary schools employ graduates (of the older universities especially) who have no professional training. The Government claims to be steadily reducing the percentage of uncertificated teachers in the profession, but the process is a slow one, because there is no ban on the employment of new uncertificated teachers. Thus between 1929 and 1936

at least 12,000 *new* uncertificated teachers entered the profession. In addition, there were over 5,000 supplementary teachers in 1936. These are women, over eighteen, employed in rural schools, who have no qualifications except approval by His Majesty's Inspector. Why are these unqualified teachers employed when there exists every facility for training the full number of teachers required? The answer is, "For economy." Unqualified teachers are paid at a lower rate, and supplementary teachers are not even eligible for superannuation.

Every year the Board of Education recognises an establishment, that is, the maximum number of teachers which it will approve for the elementary schools in England and Wales. The following figures are interesting:

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Full-time teachers in regular employment in public elementary schools, and practical instruction centres maintained by L.E.As.</i>		
1933-4, 174,348	31 3 33,	170,988	
1936-7, 171,333	31 3 36,	169,591	
1937-8, 170,127	31 3 37,	168,014	

The Board is pursuing a policy of continually reducing staff, the excuse being the declining child population. It refuses to meet this situation by reducing large classes—a method which would also solve the problem of unemployed teachers. As far back as 1930, the President of the Board stated that in the previous five years an average of 270 teachers per annum had failed to find work within fifteen months of leaving college. A more recent official statement revealed that of teachers leaving training colleges in 1934 and 1935, 1,557 were still unemployed by December, 1935; while of those who left in July, 1936, there were still 864 who had not obtained employment by the end of the year.

The operation of the Education Act (1936) will mean,

according to the Government, jobs for 5,000 new teachers; this estimate is probably an exaggeration, though the Act may go some way to reducing unemployment. There are, however, more immediate steps which can be taken. There are still 17,409 head-teachers, out of a total of 29,479, in elementary schools who are in full charge of a class. A policy which permits this may lead to economy, but it cannot lead to efficiency. If even a percentage of such head-teachers were relieved of this burden, the unemployment problem would not be so serious.

The position in Scotland is somewhat different. Here there is a unified system of teachers' training controlled ultimately by a National Committee representing the L.E.As. and working via an Executive Committee on which the teachers are represented. This National Committee delegates its authority to four provincial committees representative of the four universities and the L.E.As., and these committees each maintain a training college. There are also denominational training colleges, but these are controlled jointly by the National Committee, the particular provincial committee concerned and the colleges themselves. Entry into a training college is normally confined, in the case of women, to holders of the Higher Leaving Certificate of the secondary schools, and in the case of men to graduates of a university or of a central institution (i.e. technical college). Students in training colleges may qualify for various certificates which enable them to teach either in elementary or secondary schools or to act as specialist technical teachers.

II. SALARIES

The salaries of teachers in State-aided schools and in many others are regulated in England and Wales by the Burnham Scales, which date from 1921. Before the

War, teachers' salaries varied greatly according to localities; their only common feature was that they were very low. In only seven counties did the average salaries of certificated men and women head-teachers exceed £160 and £110 per annum respectively. In twenty-eight counties certificated assistants received on the average less than £100 and in no county was the average woman teacher's salary above £100; in Herefordshire, the women's average salary was £62 8s.

Such niggardly pay raised a ferment of discontent and in 1913 the National Union of Teachers launched a great campaign for increased salaries; a standard scale was proposed and the Union declared itself prepared to hand in strike notices should other methods of achieving its demands fail. In Hereford a successful strike was actually carried through and it is only less than certain that this example would have been followed elsewhere had not the outbreak of war intervened.

But though the Union patriotically suspended its campaign, the membership did not believe in a patriotism that involved starvation rates of pay. So great was the pressure exerted that in 1916 the salaries campaign was reopened. The strike weapon was used once more and continued intermittently till after the War. In 1919, the N.U.T. was at one moment financing nine strikes, including a famous strike in the Rhondda Valley.

It was only then, when direct action by the teachers was disorganising the whole educational system, that the Government set up, under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham, what became known as the Burnham Committee, which was representative of the teachers and the local authorities. This Committee evolved four salary scales for elementary teachers and two for secondary and technical teachers; and after various difficulties in the allocation of the scales to the different areas, they were finally established in 1921.

The scale system works as follows: in secondary and technical schools there is one scale for the provinces and another and higher one for Greater London. In elementary schools, the scales ascend from Scale II (Scale I has been abolished) for certain rural areas and country towns (including, for example, Gloucester), to Scale III mainly for large provincial towns and certain counties, to Scale IV for Greater London. In addition to salary scales, 1921 saw the inception of a non-contributory superannuation scheme, paid for by the L.E.As. and the Government, which would, in many respects, have been very satisfactory in the circumstances had they been fully applied.

The Burnham Scales and the Pensions Scheme have greatly improved the teachers' position, though the existence of Scale II and the unsatisfactory method of allocating scales to areas provide strong reasons for complaint. Perhaps the greatest grievance is the low salaries of young teachers, who must work for many years before reaching any reasonable level of amenity. The scales are also remarkable for their variety. Women teachers are given lower scales than men in all cases; uncertificated teachers are paid less than certificated; secondary and technical teachers receive considerably higher pay than their elementary colleagues. Thus the authorities, while making concessions, were safeguarding themselves against increasing them and preparing for their reduction; for the multiplicity of scales could only divide the profession and hinder unity of action, should the need arise.

That need arose almost from the beginning, for the Burnham Scales did not remain undisturbed for very long. In June 1922, the Geddes axe lopped off 5 per cent all round as an economy measure in the form of a payment towards pension; and early in 1923, with the tide of economania still high, the National Union of Teachers,

in order, as it claimed, to avoid a greater cut, made a voluntary concession of another 5 per cent. Thus, within two years, the teachers lost 10 per cent of their salaries permanently. Nor was this the end; for in 1925, after consideration of the scales had occurred, the Burnham Award instituted the "halt year," by which teachers were deprived of their first year's increment; and cut down women's increments by £3, so increasing the number of years they must serve before reaching the maximum salary. The story of 1931 does not need detailed telling. Teachers were asked to make a 12½ per cent sacrifice (the May Committee had suggested 15 per cent), and, after a whirlwind campaign, the profession succeeded in reducing the cut to one of 10 per cent. This was restored, in two instalments, in 1934 and 1935. The present scales stand till 1940.

In Scotland the Local Authorities were in 1918 required to submit minimum salary scales for approval by the Scottish Education Department. Grant was only payable where the Department was satisfied that the minima were adequate. Since 1918 Scottish teachers, like the English teachers, have suffered cuts.

III. TEACHERS' UNIONS

The teaching profession is a very highly organised one, most teachers being in a union or association of some kind. These unions largely correspond in their membership to the different sections of the profession, though the principle of one union, one section, by no means strictly applies.

The largest union, consisting mainly of elementary school-teachers, is the National Union of Teachers, with a membership of more than 153,000. The N.U.T. protects the interests of its members by representing

them in salary (it represents the elementary school-teachers on the Burnham Committee) and tenure matters, and by sponsoring a friendly society (the Teachers' Provident Society) of extremely wide scope. The Union, however, also interests itself in the broader issue of educational policy and is an important negotiating body with the Government in educational questions. More recently, individual sections have taken an active part in peace work, and the Union as a whole is represented on the League of Nations Union Education Committee. A high standard of professional conduct is fostered among members.

Two bodies of teachers, representing men and women groups of the N.U.T., split away from the main Union. The National Association of Schoolmasters claimed that, since the N.U.T. had a majority of women, it represented women's interests primarily, especially in its advocacy of equal pay. This, declared the secessionists, would lead to the reduction of men's salaries to the women's level; men, in any case, had greater responsibilities and so should have higher pay. From this masculine source flowed the various other concepts of N.A.S. policy: men teachers for boys, no man to work under a woman head, and so on. To these propositions the N.U.T. has always replied that the policy of equal pay is a policy of raising women's salaries to the level of men's, and that jobs should be apportioned according to the criterion of educational efficiency and not of sex.

The women's breakaway resulted in the formation of the National Union of Women Teachers. At the opposite extreme to the N.A.S., this Union criticises the N.U.T. for not advocating equal pay with more vigour, and it stands for a militant feminist affirmation of women's equality with men.

Both the N.A.S. and the N.U.W.T. have remained small bodies, though the N.A.S. is locally strong in

London and Liverpool. Like the N.U.T., these unions have wide social services; but, unlike the N.U.T., they have no representation on the Burnham Committees.

The secondary teachers are organised mainly in the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters and the Assistant Mistresses' Association, though the N.U.T. contains a large and growing secondary membership. The Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions caters for teachers in technical schools, though here again the N.U.T. is well represented. There are also various head-teachers' organisations and an Association of University Teachers. In Scotland all teachers are catered for in the Educational Institute of Scotland.

IV. IS UNITY POSSIBLE ?

This review of the different unions will naturally give rise to the question, "Is unity possible?" The answer at present is a very hopeful one. There may be a successful outcome to negotiations which have been proceeding for some time between the N.U.T. and the secondary and technical associations for one united professional organisation. Up to the present, the N.A.S. and the N.U.W.T. have not been included in the scope of the conversations, since the N.U.T. has always adopted the attitude that these organisations must dissolve and their members join the larger union as individuals and advocate their claims from within. But since the scheme of unity under discussion involves the dissolution of the unions concerned and the setting up of a new body, an Educational Institute for England and Wales, it seems that the obstacles on the side of the secessionist unions which now prevent them from joining the N.U.T. might be surmounted and a really all-inclusive Institute established.

It is possible that events will break down all barriers

to unity. In the 1931 crisis, there were many evidences of collaboration of local associations of the conflicting unions. It is not outside the bounds of probability that a future salary crisis will reunite all teachers in one Union. Already Mr. Chamberlain has hinted that a cut in social services is the only source of economies that (in view of rearmament) will be necessary, and Sir Percival Sharp, Secretary of the Association of Education Committees, has questioned the stability of present educational expenditure. It is worth noting that although present salary scales stand till 1940, the Government has hinted that it may revise the scales before then for operation afterwards. There seems at any rate to be little doubt in responsible teaching circles that the Unions will soon be transformed from negotiating to fighting bodies.

In these circumstances, it is distinctly possible that a large measure of professional unity will be achieved at an early date.

CHAPTER XI

WHAT IS TO BE DONE ?

WE HOPE THAT THIS survey will have made clear the inequality of opportunity inherent in the British system of education, the class bias that marks it, and those features and tendencies within it that are dangerous from the standpoint of a truly democratic community.

We have seen the scales weighted against the working-class child, not merely through biased textbooks, but through the structure of the education system itself. His development is impeded from the start by lack of nursery schooling. As he grows up he will suffer from the unsatisfactory conditions in the schools, bad buildings, insufficient equipment, large classes, malnutrition, and all the host of material deficiencies that we have noticed. It is here that the class system is displayed in its most blatant and effective form ; in the starving of the growing child of much that it needs if it would develop fully to adolescence. When he grows to adolescence, he seldom finds his capabilities carefully studied, and must leave off his schooling at the very age when his mind is opening, becoming receptive of the complexities of the world around him.

This indeed, is not the story of every child. We have shown the opportunities available for the select minority which can travel via the secondary schools to the university. We have noted the tremendous advances registered in the past half-century. But it is these highlights which expose to view the shadowed background on which the educational life of the average child is lived. It is precisely because of the benefits accruing from fifty

years of progress that we must insist that that progress is not halted, but moves onwards till we possess the system that our country's resources justify.

A programme of educational advance is required which will provide the children of Britain with the best schooling that modern science and art can devise. A programme such as will transform our class-biased school system into a free democratic system which will allow of the fullest development of the mind and body of every child.

Basing ourselves, therefore, on the schools as they exist to-day, and looking forward to the schools as we should like to see them, we suggest the following programme as a bridge that will bring us a long way from the one to the other.

A SUGGESTED PROGRAMME OF EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE

A. General

- I. Rearrangement of the grant system so that the Exchequer pays the major portion of educational expenditure. The percentage paid should vary with the circumstances of the area. Depressed areas should receive 100 per cent grant.
- II. (a) A national loan for school building. All old school buildings to be rebuilt and modernised in ten years.
(b) All blacklisted schools to be replaced within two years.
- III. No class to contain more than thirty pupils.
- IV. All schools to be provided with playing fields within easy reach.

B. Primary Education

- I. Adequate provision of nursery classes, wings and schools.
- II. Full facilities for practical work in infant and junior schools.

- III. More generous provision of books, stationery apparatus, etc.

C. Adolescence

- I. Abolition of exemption clauses in Education Act (1936) as a first step to raising the school-leaving age to sixteen.
- II. Provision of secondary education for all by:
- (a) transformation of senior and central schools into modern schools equal in status, staffing and amenities to existing secondary schools.
 - (b) Extension of secondary and technical schools.
 - (c) Establishment of experimental multi-lateral schools.
- III. Abolition of fees and provision of maintenance allowances in all post-primary schools.

D. Health Services

- I. Increase in number of school doctors to 1,000, school nurses to 5,000 and school dentists to 1,000.
- II. Free milk and meals to all children whose parents earn below a scale nationally agreed upon jointly by the Trades Union Congress and the British Medical Association.
- III. Wide extension of school canteens.
- IV. Building of sufficient "special" schools, e.g. orthopædic schools.
- V. Establishment of a new system of "routine" examination which will ensure a more adequate and continuous supervision of the child's health.

E. Universities

Wider provision of scholarships by the State and the Local Education Authorities.

F. Teaching Staff

- I. £4 a week minimum salary for all qualified teachers.
- II. No further appointments of unqualified teachers.
- III. Progressive increase in the establishment figures.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The educational information and statistics contained in this book have been derived mainly from official sources. These include the following publications of His Majesty's Stationery Office: the annual reports of the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department; the annual reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education; various official pamphlets including *A Review of Junior Technical Schools in England and Wales*; the daily issues of *Parliamentary Debates* commonly known as *Hansard*, which also include the vast and varied information contained in the answers to "Questions to Ministers." Much illuminating material has been gained from the reports of educational conferences and meetings, and well-authenticated descriptive notes, found in the educational and general Press, including *The Times Educational Supplement*, *Education*, organ of the Association of Education Committees, and the *Schoolmaster* and *Woman Teachers' Chronicle*, organ of the National Union of Teachers. Various pamphlets issued by the Workers Educational Association, the National Union of Teachers and the Committee Against Malnutrition have also been consulted, for example *Exemptions and the School-leaving Age*, by R. H. Tawney, published by the W.E.A.

Secondary sources consulted include *The Silent Social Revolution*, by G. A. M. Lowndes; *The Educational System of England and Wales*, by H. Ward; *Workers Education*, by M. Hodgen; *A Century of Municipal Government*, edited by H. J. Laski; *The Schools of England*, edited by J. Dover Wilson; the annual *Yearbook of Education* edited by Lord Eustace Percy; *History of Western Education* by Dr. Boyd; and *English Life in the Middle Ages* by L. F. Salzman.

